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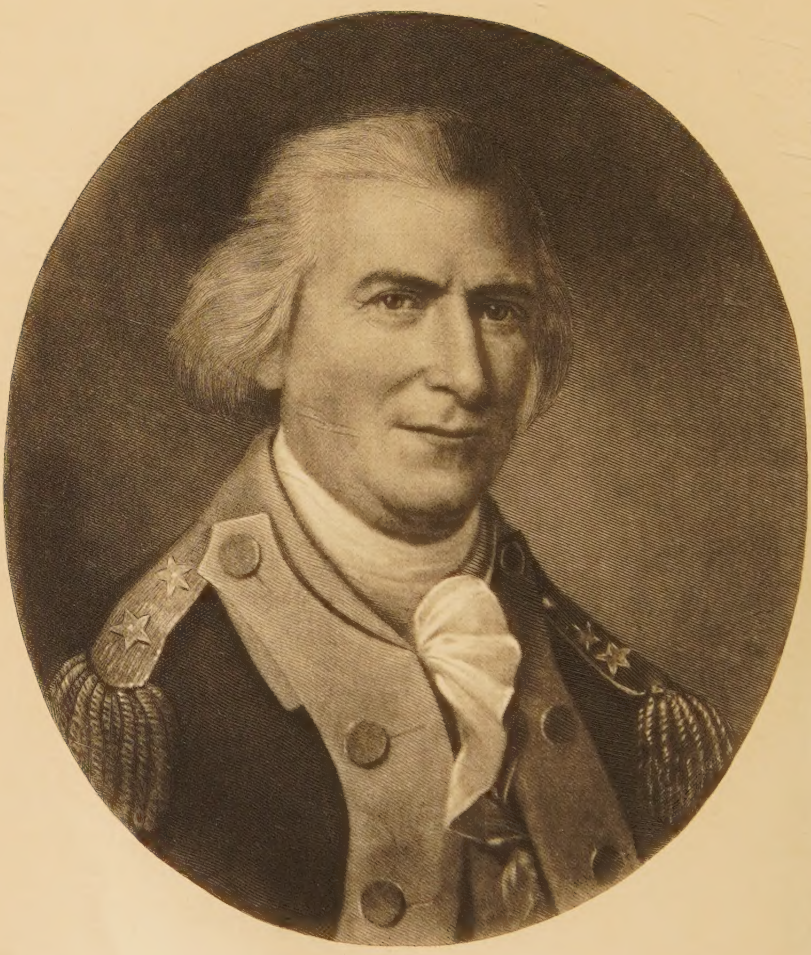


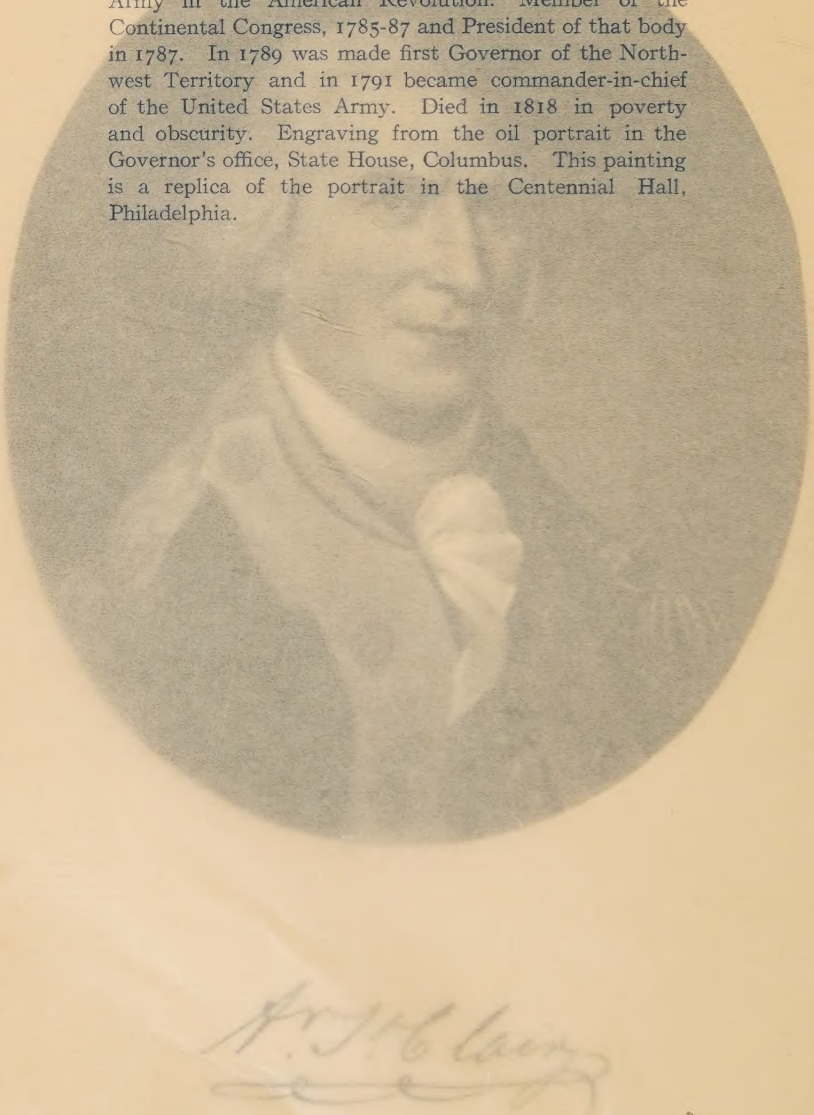
A. St. Clair

History of Ohio

THE CENTURY HISTORY COMPANY
NEW YORK
1912

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

Born at Thurso, Scotland in 1734. Officer in the British Army in America during the French and Indian War. Settled in Pennsylvania in 1764. Colonel in Colonial Army in the American Revolution. Member of the Continental Congress, 1785-87 and President of that body in 1787. In 1789 was made first Governor of the Northwest Territory and in 1791 became commander-in-chief of the United States Army. Died in 1818 in poverty and obscurity. Engraving from the oil portrait in the Governor's office, State House, Columbus. This painting is a replica of the portrait in the Centennial Hall, Philadelphia.



History of Ohio

The Rise and Progress of an American State

By
Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan

Volume Two

By
EMILIUS O. RANDALL

THE CENTURY HISTORY COMPANY
NEW YORK
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Chapter I.

THE MORAVIAN MISSIONS

THE contrasts of history are ever interesting and often significant in teaching its development and philosophy.

While the courageous leader of the Reformation, the peasant-born Luther, was in voluntary confinement in the Castle of Wittenberg, Germany, preparing his translation that should unlock wide the Bible to the free reading of the people, another prisoner lay wounded in the Castle of Loyola in Spain, the very castle in which he had been born, twenty-five years before, and from which he took his name, Ignatius Loyola. These two contemporaneous castle captives were intellectually battling in that interminable warfare between the Saxon and the Latin for the religious supremacy of the world. It was on that sick bed, racked with pain, that the chivalric Loyola thought out the marvellous scheme of the order of the Jesuits, whose members bound by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, were to go forth to the four corners of the earth, check the tide of Luther's reformation and win the heathen of all lands to the true faith as pronounced from the papal palace of Rome.

The new continent discovered by Columbus, through the sympathy and support of their Catholic majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, in whose palace the boy Loyola had been a page, opened to the Order of Jesus, new fields for its disciples; fields of illimitable promise. We have seen how the Jesuit missionaries followed close upon the heels of the French discoverers and explorers—indeed how the Jesuits themselves were foremost in paddling the streams and rivers, sailing the Great Lakes and penetrating the unbroken forests

tions, propitiations, sacrifices and religious exercises of every form, were jumbled exhibitions of nebulous belief and sensuous exaltation.

To this people, given to the spectacular and the symbolic, came the Jesuit fathers, with their altars, crucifixes, chalices, cups of holy water, rosaries, robes and paraphernalia; their chants and intonations, genuflexions and scenic rites. The ceremonies entertained the savage spectators if the admonitions did not influence. Longfellow in beautiful simplicity portrays the errand of the priests:

All the old men of the village,
All the warriors of the nation,
In a circle round the doorway,
With their pipes they sat in silence,
Waiting to behold the strangers,
Waiting to receive their message;
Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
From the wigwam came to greet them,
Stammering in his speech a little,
Speaking words yet unfamiliar;
"It is well," they said, "O brother,
That you come so far to see us!"
Then the Black-Robe chief, the prophet,
Told his message to the people,
Told the purport of his mission,
Told them of the Virgin Mary,
And her blessed Son, the Saviour,
How in distant lands and ages
He had lived on earth as we do;
How he fasted, prayed, and labored;
How the Jews, the tribe accursed,
Mocked him, scourged him, crucified him;
How he rose from where they laid him,
Walked again with his disciples,
And ascended into heaven.

* * * * * * * * * *

Then they rose up and departed
Each one homeward to his wigwam,
To the young men and the women

Told the story of the strangers
Whom the Master of Life had sent them
From the shining land of Wabun.

The result was all that the devoted disciples of the church had a right to expect, though it may not have met their desires. The testimony of history indicates that the conversion of the Indian was ceremonial and superficial, rather than productive of any real change of character or conduct of life. Says a Moravian missionary, one of the first among the Iroquois, in the last days of the Jesuit regime, "The priests seldom induced their still numerous converts to lead even outwardly better lives. Baptized savages strutted among the unbaptized, decorating their persons with rosaries, as though they were strings of wampum, but were carnal and dissolute as before. Genuine conversions manifested by a sober, righteous, and godly life, were rarely known. Hence the Indians had come to be regarded as brutish savages whose salvation was hopeless." And Ogontz, the famous Ottawa chief, educated by the Catholic priests and for a time a missionary among his people at Sandusky, testified that he found it much easier to make Catholics than Christians of the Indians. They were more willing to observe the forms than obey the laws of Christianity but they grew no better under his preaching.

We have seen how these consecrated missionaries set up their shrines of worship in the farthest fastnesses of the wilderness. Their sincere devotion to their cause, their self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, their privations and sufferings, the latter in every conceivable form of torture and mutilation that fiendish savagery

could invent, are hardly surpassed in the annals of religious persecution. Not a few fed with their living bodies the flames of martyrdom, while the infuriated savages, at the sight, yelled and danced with a delight more diabolical than that displayed by the Cæsars of imperial Rome, when they walked abroad at night through beautiful gardens, illumined by the blaze of human torches—the pitch-covered quivering flesh of the early followers of the Nazarene.

Such were the Jesuits of North America. Their missions were chiefly among the Iroquois of New York, the Hurons of Canada and the various nations of the upper lakes. While their converts in number were not commensurate with their aims and their efforts, they were many. No less than three thousand, it is claimed, embraced the faith, among the Canadian Hurons. But their work was not without its benign influence. While their purpose seemed chiefly to save a soul by the mere sacrament of baptism, and while they made little direct endeavor to educate the savage, either in mental development, social improvement or industrial or agricultural advancement, they did, unquestionably, by their religious teachings and exemplary conduct, in no small measure, modify the savagery of the Indian nature.

Opposition in many quarters, chiefly among the licentious favorites of the Bourbon court and the infidelic scholars of France, brought about the suppression of the Jesuits, by the royal edict of Louis XV, throughout the French dominions in 1764, and for reasons, not here to be discussed, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV. by papal decree ordered the suppression of the

Society in all States of Christendom. These decrees of abolition put an end to the proselyting of the Indians by the Jesuits, though non-Jesuit priests continued their ministrations among the tribesmen.

Aside from the semi-mission of Sandusky, the Jesuits, as previously noted, made no inroads among the Ohio tribes.

But now another Christianizing ministry is to enter the Ohio country and from the date of its entrance is destined to play no small part in the trend of events. This influence is that of the Moravian Missionaries, the Protestant Jesuits to the Ohio redmen. For our authorities on this subject, to which meagre attention has been given by historians, we are chiefly indebted to the publication of the life and various works of David Zeisberger by Edmund de Schweinitz, and similarly by E. F. Bliss; to the life and narratives of John Heckewelder, edited by W. E. Connelley and in the biographical literature concerning Heckewelder by the grandson of the latter, Rev. W. H. Rice, a distinguished minister in the Moravian denomination. Credit is also due to the original manuscripts of Zeisberger, translated by the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, and made public in the printed annals of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The Moravians as a sect may boast of great antiquity, and an illustrious history. Bohemia was early the refuge and abode of the sturdy, religious, liberty-loving Teutons, who refused to succumb to the sway of the Papal church. The Waldenses in Italy and France, in the pre-reformation period, in large numbers fled to Bohemia and the adjacent Moravia. In order to

combat and overthrow the faith of the increasing followers of the new heresy, the Papacy established the University of Prague. Its greatest graduate, according to well-known church history, was John Huss, who following the lead of Wickliff of England, became the great reformer of his time, the forerunner of Luther, finally paying (1415) the price of his independence in martyrdom at the stake. From the ashes of Huss sprang the sect which instituted the organization of the Church of the Brethren, later to be known as the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, and subsequently, in America, to be called the "Moravian Brethren." The Moravians, therefore, came forth from the earliest struggles against Romanism and ante-date the German Reformation. This church consecrated its first bishop, David Nitschmann, at Berlin in 1735; ten years before that, a band of the Moravians, escaping from oppression in their country, fled to Saxony and in Upper Lusatia, on an estate of Count Zinzendorf, founded the town of Herrnhut and formed the nucleus of a colony in which their sect was to thrive. Soon following these fugitive emigrants, there came to Herrnhut, from Zauchtenthal, the Zeisberger parents, with their children, one being David, aged five. Herrnhut was not, however, long to be their haven. The rigid government of Saxony was not to their liking and they must move on. They looked far abroad. The English colonies in America had become the refuge of the free-minded in religion and the liberty-loving in civil government.

James Oglethorpe, the noble-hearted philanthropist, had just founded the colony of Georgia, a retreat for

DAVID ZEISBERGER

Born in Austrian Moravia in 1721. Emigrated to Georgia, America in 1737. Missionary to the Iroquois tribes. First visited the Ohio Indians in 1771. Established the first Moravian settlement at Schoenbrunn, Tuscarawas County, 1772. Died at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, 1808.

according to well-known church [illegible]

[illegible] Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, and [illegible] in America, to be called the "Moravi[illegible]" The Moravians, therefore, came forth fr[illegible] struggles against Romanism and ante-da[illegible] [illegible] David Nitschmann, at Berlin in 1735; ten [illegible] that, a band of the Moravians, escaping fro[illegible] [illegible] in their country, fled to Saxony and in [illegible] [illegible], on an estate of [illegible] Zinzendorf [illegible] [illegible] of Herrnhut and [illegible] [illegible] which their sect was to thrive. Soon [illegible] [illegible] fugitive emigrants, there came to Herrnhut, [illegible] Zauchtenthal, the Zeisberger parents, with the[illegible] [illegible], one being David, aged five. Herrnhut was [illegible] however, long to be their haven. The rigid [illegible] of Saxony was not to their liking and they [illegible] on. They looked far abroad. The English [illegible] in America had become the refuge of the [illegible] in religion and the liberty-loving in civil [illegible].

[illegible] Oglethorpe, the noble-hearted philanthropist, [illegible]

the prison-confined debtors of England and the Protestant refugees of Europe. Thither would the Moravians go, and in 1736 a band of twenty, including the parents David and Rosina Zeisberger, and Bishop Nitschmann, sailed for Georgia. In the same ship were the brothers John and Charles Wesley. The simple, evangelical piety of the Moravians, whom he now met for the first time, made a deep impression on the Church of England Curate, John Wesley. Returning to his home country he sought out the preachers of this primitive sect, both in England and Germany, and this Moravian intercourse was the beginning and largely the cause of Wesley's break from the established church. It was two years later (1738) when David Zeisberger, the son, after years of excellent schooling in Saxony and Holland, joined his parents at Savannah.

In Georgia, the Moravians found a field for missionary labor among the Creek Indians, for the redmen needed most their gospel ministrations. To the conversion of the American savages then would the Moravian exiles devote their activities. Their field was suddenly changed by the breaking out of hostilities between England and Spain (1739), the Spaniards of Florida threatening to attack the Georgia colony, which prepared for war. The Moravians, like the Quakers, were disciples of peace and the bearing of arms was contrary to their principles. The disturbances thus effecting the Georgia colony, and the lack of harmony over the situation among the Moravians, divided their settlement and a portion of them departed for Pennsylvania.

It was in the Spring of 1740, when the voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia was made in a sloop, strangely enough, under the direction of George Whitefield, who was also a passenger. This distinguished preacher, then in the Church of England, but like John Wesley to become later a dissenter and a powerful evangelist of the new Methodist sect, was on his errand of establishing an orphan asylum in the new country.

Whitefield engaged the Moravians to build a schoolhouse for negro children, on a tract of five thousand acres of land, which he purchased and located on the "Forks of the Delaware." The little band of twelve Moravians, one of whom was the younger David Zeisberger, began the erection of an edifice, but ere long differences arose between them and Whitefield and the latter ordered them to leave his land "forthwith." Again the little group of wanderers moved on and in the deep snows and intense cold of winter established, in the Lehigh River, their new home in the little hamlet, they called Bethlehem, to be from then until this day the chief seat of the Moravian Church in America.

From time to time members of the sect flocked from Europe to the new Bethlehem, then in a wild country. mainly inhabited by Indians. Again the heathen aborigines appealed to the religious zeal of the new colony, and Zeisberger, consecrated now to the ministry entered upon his work of salvation that was to engross his time and energies for more than half a century. He became a speaker of great power, mastered many of the Indian tongues, and with various confreres made proselyting tours, through Pennsylvania and New York,

encountering privations and perils, surpassed only by those of the Jesuits in the far west. During a visit to Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois confederacy, he was adopted into the tribe of the Onondagas and the Turtle Clan, receiving the name of "Ganousserarcheri," which signifies "On the Pumpkin." With his assistant, Christian Frederick Post, he erected, at Onondaga, a substantial Mission House, with a view to the establishment of a permanent mission center in that section. He won the implicit confidence of the Iroquois confederacy, the Grand Council of which appointed him (1754) keeper of the archives, and deposited in his Moravian Mission House, many belts and strings of wampum, treaties and official documents.

At Shamokin, a chief town of the Indians and the headquarters of Shikellamy, the Executive Deputy of the Grand Council of the Six Nations and real ruler of the Delaware dependencies, Zeisberger began his construction of an Iroquois dictionary. In this literary and linguistic work, Zeisberger had the personal assistance of Shikellamy, also spelled Shikellimus, Shikelimo and otherwise,—no less than thirty different ways; we follow in the spelling of this name, as in most of the Indian names met with in our history, the orthography adopted by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Shikellamy was one of the most remarkable men of his race. His Indian name, as designated by the Delawares, was Ongwaterohiathe, signifying "the Enlightener." This influential and high-minded chief was born in Montreal of French parentage and when a child was made a captive and adopted into the Wolf Clan of the Oneida tribe; he married a woman of

the Cayuga nation, and became an early convert, probably in 1742, to the Moravians, who, as related by Loskiel, at first hesitated to receive him into their church on account of his having been previously baptized by a Catholic priest in Canada, but Shikellamy repudiated his Catholic allegiance and at his Moravian baptism is said to have destroyed a "small idol" which he had always worn about his neck.

Shikellamy filled for more than twenty years a large space in the Indian annals of Pennsylvania. He is said to have "swayed almost a vice-regal sceptre over all the inferior tribes south of the Iroquois who paid tribute to that powerful league, or were held by it in subjugation, and he became a kind of resident ambassador of the Five Nations in Pennsylvania."

Shikellamy's son was the famous Mingo chief John Shikellimus, or Shikellamy, better known as Logan. Later on we shall hear much of this Mingo Logan, whose oratorical powers were inherited from his father, likewise renowned for his gifts of speech.

It was this educational phase of the Moravian apostleship, as illustrated in the Indian scholarship of Zeisberger that gave it a distinctive feature, in contrast with the religious labors of the Jesuits. The Moravians sought to illumine their conversions with the torch of civilization. The learning of the Reformation was the handmaid of Protestant evangelization. The Onondaga Mission was prospering beyond expectations and the seeds sown had grown and promised a rich harvest in the vineyard of the Master, when Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela presaged the havoc of the French and Indian War.

JOHN HECKEWELDER

Life companion and colaborer with Zeisberger. Born at Herrnhut, Saxony, 1743. Came to Bethlehem, Pa., in 1754. One of the foremost Moravian Missionaries to the Ohio country. With Zeisberger founded the Moravian Missions on the Muskingum, the first Christian Missions in Ohio. He died at Bethlehem, Pa., January 30, 1823.

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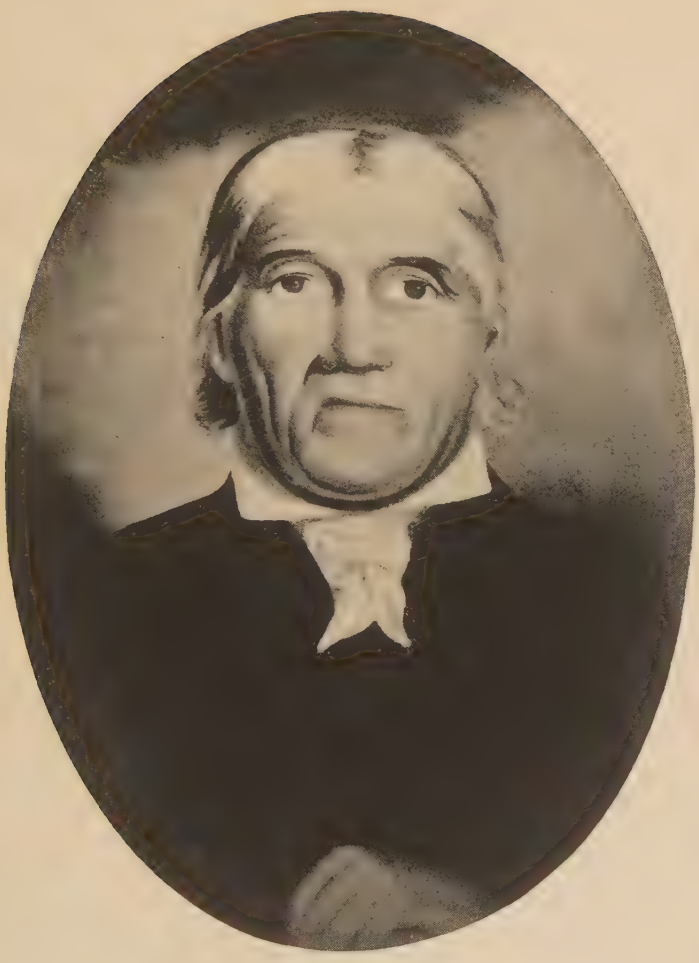

There was an untimely end to the Onondaga Mission and Zeisberger left the unreaped fruitage of his labors and returned to Bethlehem. Here he met one who had arrived in his absence and who was to be second only to himself, if not on equality with him, in their subsequent joint labors. This one was John Heckewelder, whose father, David Heckewelder, was one of the Moravian exiles who fled to Herrnhut, the Saxon village of refuge. Pushing on to England, the Heckewelder parents were there residing when John was born (1743). At the age of eleven, the boy, John, with his parents, found a home at Bethlehem (Pa.) where they arrived in 1754.

Young Heckewelder was apprenticed, to learn the cooper trade, to the Rev. Christian Frederick Post, the Indian interpreter, Moravian missionary and zealous assistant to Zeisberger. Post's life was as romantic as it was conspicuous in pioneer annals. He was thirty-three years the elder of Heckewelder. His first wife was a Wamponoag squaw, called, after her baptism, Rachel. Two years after her death Post married a converted Delaware squaw, known as Agnes. Upon her death he married a white woman. We have already, early in our history, noted the important services of Post as an official interpreter at conferences between colonists and the tribesmen, and have made notice of his embassadorial journeys to the Ohio in 1758.

The French and Indian War over, the Bethlehem missionaries resumed their activities and in September, 1761, Post made an effort to establish a mission among the Delawares on the Muskingum River. The Delawares were at this time living principally in the Ohio

country. As we have seen, the Delawares were originally found in the valley of the Delaware River, and about the bay of that name. The white invasions and the wars with other tribes gradually crowded the Delawares westward, first into the valley of the Susquehanna, then to the headwaters of the Allegheny and the banks of the Monongahela, and then below the Forks of the Ohio to the western interior, until by 1748, it is estimated, one-fourth of their nation had located on the western tributaries of the Ohio, chiefly the Tuscarawas and the Muskingum. The Delawares came to Ohio, it is claimed, by invitation of the Wyandots, who held, from the Six Nations, permissive title to large part of Ohio. In their new western country, being in contact with the French and supported by the Western tribes, the Delawares began to assert their independence, shaking the vassalage to the Iroquois, refusing to be longer considered "women" and tearing off the "petticoats" put upon them in 1720, by their insolent conquerors the Six Nations.

The Moravians had found a fruitful field among the Delawares of Pennsylvania and they naturally looked to the settlements of the tribes west of the Ohio. Post, moreover, had seen much of these people in his diplomatic errands to the Ohio for the provincial authorities. He chose for the site of his proposed mission the juncture of the Big Sandy and the Tuscarawas, just above the present town of Bolivar. At that point was the ford, on the line of the great Indian trail, running west from Fort Pitt to Fort Sandusky. The site was close to the Indian capital of Tuscarawas, a Delaware village, about a mile down the river, "at which at that

time the greatest chiefs of the Nation both civil and military resided, with Tamaque (or Big Beaver as called by the whites) at their head" says the narrative of Heckewelder. To this point came Post, undaunted and independent, for this mission was personal rather than one under the authority of the church board, and here he erected, on the banks of the river, a rude cabin. A mile distant "resides a trader, named Thomas Calhoun, a moral and religious man." But Post soon found he could not conduct a mission unaided. He thought of his young and promising apprentice and returning to Pennsylvania secured Heckewelder as his faithful assistant.

The two missionaries met at Lititz, in March, 1762, and together they started for the Ohio country, on a journey that was to take them six weeks, over mountains clad with forests, snow-clogged and ice-coated, across swollen streams and along trails that often vanished in the thick tangle-wood or in the washings of overflowing rivers. Heckewelder recounts the trip in his graphic, descriptive manner. The solitude of the forest was continually broken by the howling of wolves and wild beasts. Stony Creek was crossed by the use of sugar troughs as canoes. Braddock's field, over which they passed, was still scattered with the skulls and bones of the slain. At Fort Pitt the travelers were entertained by Colonel Bouquet. The Indians ferried them over the Big Beaver River and a few chickens were given them by White Eyes later the head chief of the Delawares. On the 11th of April (1762) "we arrived at Tuscarawas [Town] on the Muskingum and we entered our cabin singing a hymn."

Permission was obtained from the Indians to clear a patch of trees and make a garden. Fish and game were in abundance but difficult to secure and "we lived mostly on nettles; which grew abundantly in the bottoms and of which we frequently made two meals a day." The diet "weakened us from day to day." The Delaware Indians often visited them and gave Heckewelder the name "Piselatuple," the Turtle. But now an interruption presented itself.

Before leaving Philadelphia, Post had promised the governor of Pennsylvania that in case his services were needed on an Indian embassy he would return for duty. The emergency arose. The western Indians, especially those in Northern Ohio, were being aroused by Pontiac. Post was summoned by the governor to act in an Indian conference at Lancaster. Heckewelder, then a lad of nineteen, decided to remain alone at the Tuscarawas cabin. He tells the story of the result in his own modest way, but it is a narrative of dramatic realism. To assist him in passing the time, Heckewelder says, "Post left me a number of old sermons and religious books, requesting me at the same time, never to read or write in the presence of the Indians, and even conceal the books from their sight." The Indians were suspicious of the whites whom they saw reading and writing, especially the latter, believing it concerned them or their territory. "They say they have been robbed of their lands by the writing of the whites."

Post departed and Heckewelder's solitary vigil began. The Indians watched him with suspicious eyes. His canoe disappeared; his ammunition gave out; the

vegetables were stolen from his garden by passing lawless traders; he became destitute of food; a fever prostrated his strength and gloom possessed his mind; he could not leave his cabin and starvation would have ended his career but for Calhoun, his neighbor, who carried him to his quarters and relieved his distress. The Indians became more hostile, and reported a war would soon break out between the English and the Indians in which the latter would be aided by the French.

Heckewelder's plight was indeed that of the ancient apostles sent forth as lambs among wolves, carrying neither purse nor script. A friendly squaw warned Calhoun of a plot against the life of the missionary, whose cabin, in his absence, had been looted. Heckewelder fled with a party of traders bound for Pittsburg. On the third day after their departure, Heckewelder's party met Post and the Indian agent, Captain Alexander McKee, who were on their way to the Indian country, totally ignorant of the real state of affairs on the Muskingum. The united party beat a hasty retreat for their Pennsylvania destinations, barely escaping a band of Indians returning from the warpath. Heckewelder reached Bethlehem in December (1762), so worn with privations, and haggard from disease, that his friends failed to recognize him. His apprenticeship as a missionary had indeed been a test few would have survived. But it had only served to fill his heart with greater courage and more passionate longing to labor for the conversion of the people who had thirsted for his blood.

The troublous times following the Pontiac conspiracy in the Ohio country have been described. The plan for an Ohio mission had to be abandoned for a more propitious day and Heckewelder intermitted labor at his trade with lending a helping hand in the intercourse between the Indian converts and the home church at Bethlehem. With Post, Zeisberger and others, he made missionary tours to the tribesmen round about, in Pennsylvania and New York, conquering obstacles and facing perils that only further enured him to the work of his life.

Meanwhile Zeisberger, the Paul of the Bethlehem missionaries, carried the Moravian gospel fearlessly and zealously into the Indian centers, establishing missionary stations and making many converts, as may be learned from his own narrations and those of Heckewelder, translated from the manuscripts in the Moravian Archives; and also from the "History of the the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians" by George Henry Loskiel, a German Moravian, who became a bishop in that church in 1802. His history, published in 1794, written from material mainly furnished him by Zeisberger, is one of the leading authorities not only on the Moravian Missions but also the American Indians.

Zeisberger, now with one companion, then with another, visited Indian villages far and near, at many of which, remarkable revivals were held, bringing many noted chiefs, as well as their followers, into the fold. At Machiwihilusing, on the Susquehanna, Papunhank, a talented Minsi Delaware, was baptized; he later became a teacher and preacher among his people,

greatly aiding Zeisberger, founding with him a mission settlement at Friedenshütten, also on the Susquehanna. Here in 1765 a great revival was held, to which came Mohawks, Cayugas, Senecas, Onondagas, Mohicans, Wampanoags, Delawares, Tutelas, Tuscarawas and Nanticokes; "many went their way believing and scattered among their own tribes the seed of truth."

We cannot follow the detail of the indefatigable labors and signal successes of Zeisberger and his assistants. The tide of Moravian missions gradually swept westward and at Goschochgung, on the Allegheny River, near the mouth of Canawagy Creek, an important mission was located, in the midst of a desperate and depraved class of Indians, "a den of paganism," under the influence of blaspheming sorcerers led by a "false prophet" called Wangomen, who boldly endeavored to discomfit Zeisberger in debate. A bitter controversy arose; the village was thrown into violent dissension and the life of Zeisberger was threatened. But the intrepid and eloquent missionary triumphed; Wangomen apologized and assisted in the ceremonies by which Zeisberger was adopted into the Monsey tribe (of Delawares). This "naturalization" took place at Kaskaskunk, the residence of Pakanke, a powerful chief of the Wolf tribe of the Delawares, then a warm adherent of Zeisberger.

One of the most distinguished of all the converts of Zeisberger, was Glikkikan, a Delaware warrior and captain, renowned for his wisdom and oratory. He had formerly opposed and by his arguments silenced the Jesuits who had vainly sought to convert him and his people. He at first met Zeisberger to antagonize

him but was overcome by the persuasive powers of the preacher, accepted his convincing message, was baptized, and until his tragic death, was the unswerving lieutenant and, much of the time, the companion of his religious teacher.

In the Spring of 1770, numbers of the Christian Indians left the missions on the upper Allegheny and in fifteen canoes glided down the river, passing Fort Pitt, and swinging into the waters of the Ohio. They proceeded to the confluence of the Beaver, up which they steered beyond its rapids, where an encampment of bark-huts was erected. The encampment was soon changed into a town, named by Zeisberger, Friedensstadt. Glikkikan and many Moravian Monseys from Goschochgung hastened to join the new mission.

And now Ohio again was to be invaded, this time permanently. It was ten years since Post built his little cabin on the Tuscarawas, for it was now March, 1771, when Zeisberger accompanied by Glikkikan, and two other converted chiefs, all mounted, crossed the Ohio, and after six days' journey reached the Tuscarawas, down the course of which they proceeded to the village of Gekelemukpechunk, meaning, "big still water," site of New Comerstown, capital of the Delawares and seat of their Grand Council, an imposing village of a hundred log huts.

Here presided Netawatwees, chief of the Turtle tribe of Delawares and the head chief of the Delaware nation, one of the ablest rulers this people ever had and under whose chiefdom the Delawares had migrated from the Delaware to the Ohio. He had fought the English in the French and Indian War and was afraid

to meet Colonel Bouquet in 1764, when summoned to the Colonel's quarters; he attempted to escape in a canoe down the Muskingum but was captured by Bouquet's Indian scouts and carried before the Colonel who deposed him from office, an incident related in previous pages. As soon as Bouquet left the country the tribe council rëinstated the dethroned chief and he thereafter retained his office till his death (in 1776).

Zeisberger was the guest of Netawatwees, who introduced the missionary to his first audience, a throng of assembled Delawares. The long-looked-for day for the planting of a mission in Ohio had come. The Bethlehem authorities assigned Zeisberger and Heckewelder, hereafter to be as David and Jonathan in their work, to the sacred commission. The early Spring (1772) found Zeisberger, who had been on a visit to Bethlehem, his assistant, Heckewelder and five Indian families, including Glikkikan, in all twenty-eight persons, on their way from Fort Pitt to the Tuscarawas. On May 3d, Heckewelder states, the Zeisberger party reached a spot, "which to them appeared to be the most convenient and advantageous for a missionary settlement." It was, says Loskiel, "a large tract of land situated not far from the banks of the Muskingum (the river in this locality was called indiscriminately Tuscarawas and Muskingum) about thirty miles from Gekelemukpechunk, with a good spring, a small lake, good planting grounds, much game and many other conveniences for the support of a colony."

Here within two miles of the Delaware capital, this unique Christian Indian caravan pitched its tents, and in recognition of the "beautiful spring" distinguishing

the locality, they called the place Schoenbrunn, in the Indian tongue Welhek-Tuppeek. Netawatwees approved the selection, welcomed the Christian immigrants, mostly his own nation, to his tribal country, for he had earnestly invited them to come, when Zeisberger was his guest the year before, and the generous chieftain sealed his good faith in the matter by making an ample grant of land to the Moravians for the mission colonists, in the vicinity of the "beautiful spring." The village was wisely planned with wide, regular streets, crossing each other at right angles; and quickly the little log-hewn homes, the mission-chapel and the school-house, doubtless the first erected in Ohio, sprang up from the cleared spaces, to the swinging axes and resounding songs of the rejoicing strangers in the wilderness that was to be their abiding place for life and their final sepulchre.

Faithful converts from the eastern Indian missions joined the Ohio community, which grew apace with tilth and thrift. Upon the genuine zeal and consistent purpose of these regenerated tribesmen there is no better commentary than the laws adopted to govern their religious life and social conduct. They were to know no other God but the one only true God, who made us all and all creatures and came into this world in order to save sinners, to Him alone will we pray; we will rest from work on the Lord's Day and attend public service; we will honor father and mother, and when they grow old and needy we will do for them what we can; we will have nothing to do with thieves, murderers, whoremongers, adulterers or drunkards; we will not take part in dances, sacrifices, heathenish

ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS

David Zeisberger, the Moravian Missionary, preaching to the Ohio Indians, on the banks of the Muskingum. A reproduction of the engraving of the original painting now hanging in the Chapel of the Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa.

The village was wisely planned with wide, regular streets, crossing each other at right angles; and quickly the little lowbrown homes, the [illegible] the school-house, doubtless the first erected in Ohio, sprang up from the cleared spaces, to the [illegible] in the wilderness than [illegible] for life and their final sepulchre.

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festivals or games; we will be obedient to our teachers, etc.; we will not be idle, nor scold, nor beat one another, nor tell lies; whoever injures the property of his neighbor shall make restitution; and man shall have but one wife—shall love her and provide for her and his children; a woman shall have but one husband, be obedient to him, care for her children, and be cleanly in all things; we will not admit rum nor any other intoxicating liquor into our towns; if strangers or traders bring intoxicating liquor, the helpers shall take it from them and not restore it until the owners are ready to leave the place; we will not go to war and will not buy anything of warriors, taken in war.

There were many other rules of like but lesser import. Schoenbrunn was indeed an historic spot; for there were sown the first seeds of the protestant religion, in the Ohio country or the Northwest Territory; happy and prosperous were these Indian disciples working out the problems of religion and civilization:

> "How bright were the waters—how cheerful the song,
> Which the wood-bird was chirping all the day long;
> And how welcome the refuge their solitudes gave,
> To the pilgrims who toiled over the mountain and wave:
> Here they rested—here gush'd forth salvation to bring,
> The fount of the Cross, by the 'Beautiful Spring.'"

In the Fall of the same year (1772) a band of Christian Indians, of the Mohican tribe, from the Moravian center at Friedensstadt (Pa.) emigrated to the Muskingum, under the leadership of an Indian preacher called Joshua, whose baptism, in the year 1742, is said by Loskiel to have been one of the first among the Moravian conversions. The site selected for settlement by Joshua and his followers was some ten miles

from Schoenbrunn, down and upon the Muskingum River. They named this second hearth of the Moravian faith in Ohio, Gnadenhutten, signifying the "Tents of Grace," the scene, some ten years later of the bloodiest martyrdom in American history. In the fair valley of the Muskingum there arose other Moravian communities, as Lichtenau and Salem, of which mention will be made later.

A rare and faithful glimpse of these first settlements at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten is given us in the Journal "of two visits to the nations of Indians on the west side of the River Ohio in the years 1772 and 1773," by the Rev. David Jones, a Baptist minister of the Gospel at Freehold, N. J.

Mr. Jones was a keen and animated observer and wielded a ready pen. He discourses at much length on the genius, government, customs, diversions and religion of the Ohio Indians, which adds a peculiar value to his diary. In his second "visit" he proceeds from Fort Pitt, by the Ohio, to the mouth of the Sciota (Scioto), so called by the Shawnees as the word meant "Hairy River," because along its course the "deers were so plenty, that in the vernal season, when they came to drink, the stream would be thick of hairs." Up that Sciota, Jones paddled or poled his canoe; he reached Paint Creek, called by the Indians, Alamoneetheepeece, on some branches of which were situated the chief towns of the Shawnees; stopped at Pikaweeke, consisting "of about one hundred souls, being a mixture of Shawnees and other nations, the most remarkable town for robbers and villains, yet it pretends to have its chief men, who are indeed very

scoundrels, guilty of theft and robbery without any apology or redress;" breakfasted with the "King" on fat buffalo, beavers' tails and chocolate; arrived at "Chillicaathe," chief town of the Shawannee Indians, situated north of a large plain adjacent to a branch of Paint Creek; describes "old fortifications" evidently the works of Mound Builders; meets "one James Gerty, [Girty] who was well acquainted with their [Indian] language, but a stranger to religion;" Girty refuses to interpret for Mr. Jones while he preaches; leaves Sciota country and goes east to Muskingum River, passing Little Shawannee Woman's Town and Captain White Eye's Town; reached New-Comer's Town, chief town of the Delawares, one hundred and thirty miles from Chillicaathee; New-Comer's Town takes its name from the King called Neetotwhealemon—new comer, it is on the Muskingum; here met Joseph Peappi, a Moravian Indian, "who is a good interpreter."

Here Jones desired to preach to the Delawares but a great feast was in progress and the "King" refused Mr. Jones permission to preach till the dancing and gaming was ended, which would not be for many days; "to improve present time concluded to visit the Moravian towns." Of his visit to Schoenbrunn, we let Mr. Jones speak entirely for himself:

"Sabbath, 14 (January) in company with Mr. Duncan, set out, but by reason of ice, arrived not to it till afternoon. When we came, worship was finishing; the minister continued but a few sentences, which were spoken by him in the English tongue, an interpreter giving the meaning to the Indians. This town

is situated on high level land east side of Muskingum, about ten miles up the stream from New-Comer's Town. It is laid out in regular form—houses are built on each side of the street. These Indians moved here about August, 1772, and have used such frugality, that they have built neat log houses to dwell in, and a good house for divine worship, about twenty-two feet by eighteen, well seated, and a good floor and chimney. They are a mixture of Stock-Bridge, Mingo, and Delaware Indians. Since the last war their chief residence has been about Wioming. Their conduct in time of worship is praise-worthy. Their grave and solemn countenances exceed what is commonly seen among us at such times. Their minister, the Rev. David Siezberger, seems an honest man, a native of Moravia, nor has he been many years in this country. He has been successful among these poor heathens, condescending for their sake to endure hardships. While I was present he used no kind of prayer, which was not pleasing to me, therefore asked him if that was their uniform practice. He replied that some times prayer was used. Their worship began and ended with singing an hymn in the Indian language, which was performed melodiously. In the evening they met again for worship, but their minister, inadvertently or by design, spoke in the German language, so that by me nothing was understood. Mr. Siezberger told me that near eighty families belong to their two towns, and there were two ministers besides himself. I was informed that one of them, whose name is Youngman, is a person of good abilities. By what appeared, must say, that the conduct of the Moravian society towards

the heathen is commendable. They have behaved like Christians indeed, while most of other societies have altogether neglected, or in general made but faint attempts. * * * In the evening, informed Mr. Seizberger, that it would gratify me to preach to his Indians. He replied with some appearance of indifference, that an opportunity might be had in the morning. 'Tis probable he was a little afraid to countenance me, lest some disciples might be made; than which, nothing was more foreign from my intention. Or his reservedness may be ascribed to his natural disposition."

On the following day, Monday, Mr. Jones did preach, Joseph Peappi, interpreting for him. He gives a synopsis of the sermon, which was simple, direct and decidedly orthodox. Returning to New-Comer's Town he met and conversed with Captain Killbuck, "who is a sensible Indian," has "the complaisance of a gentleman and speaks good English; * * * In our discourse he told me, that some years since, two Presbyterian ministers visited them—that they did not incline to encourage their continuance, yet their visit had such effect, that they had been thinking it over since. He said, that they intended to have both a minister and schoolmaster, but would not have Presbyterians, because their ministers went to war against them, and therefore did not like to be taught by them now, who were before for killing them."

On the other hand Killbuck did not seem to favor the Moravians remarking that they were from Germany, and "did not belong to our (English) kingdom;" nor would the Moravians fight, hence were useless as

allies in time of war. Captain Killbuck, who seemed quite loquacious in the presence of Mr. Jones, further added the Indians intended to go to England and see the King and "tell him that they would be of the same religion as he is and would desire a minister and schoolmaster of his own choosing;" that they had raised forty pounds for the purpose and had selected himself, Killbuck, and Swallowhead as messengers on this errand to Sir William Johnson. Mr. Jones offers the suggestion that "the service of the Church of England, as it now stands, will never be prescribed for Indians, for nothing would disgust them more than to have a religion, which would consume the greater part of life only to learn ceremonies."

An examination of Killbuck by Mr. Jones as to the religious belief of the Indians brought out the acknowledgment that they believed "in a God who created all things;" that "they believed that when any person died, their soul went to a happy state or to a state of misery."

Mr. Jones closes his interviews with Killbuck by commenting: "These (Delaware) Indians are not defective in natural abilities, and their long acquaintance with us, has given some of them better notions than many other savages. They are as void of civil government as the Shawannees. Their virtues are but few, their vices near the same with other Indians. * * * Neither these nor the Shawannees claim any distinct property in lands, looking on it that God made it free for all. Nor could I understand that they have any fixed bounds to a nation, esteeming it chiefly useful for hunting. Providence seems to point out the civiliz-

ing of these Indians; for a farming life will lead to laws, learning, and government, to secure property. * * * 'Tis a little surprising that *Protestants* should be so neglectful of the Indians; and in common there is no concern appears among them, about civilizing the many nations, that are yet rude savages: while on the other hand, the *French Papists* have been very industrious to instill their principles into the minds of such as were contiguous to them, and with some success. The Waindots [Wyandots] are a little tainted, but might, 'tis probable, be easily better informed, and especially as the French are in a manner expelled."

And here for the present, we leave the Indian converts to work out, under their Moravian teachers, their lessons of faith and good work, while we turn our attention to stirring events in another quarter.

Chapter II.

THE OHIO INDIAN CONFEDERACY

THE American Indian was not merely a warrior. He was a wily politician and at times a far-sighted statesman. He instinctively realized the potency of the maxim "in union there is strength." We have seen with what tremendous results he employed this principle in the case of the Six Nation Confederacy, and how Pontiac invoked it in the carrying out of his vast conspiracy. The Ohio tribes, long the enemy and more or less the dependents of the haughty and overbearing Iroquois resolved to make the Ohio wilderness the scene of another attempt at centralization of savage power, such as would surpass all other similar efforts.

At the outset, let us clearly understand the political geography of the savage empire of the Ohio tribes, at the time of which we are to speak. We have already located the Delawares on the Muskingum and the territory extending east to the Ohio River. In this section however were also bands of the Mingo tribe, or Mengwe, a term given them by the Iroquois and meaning "treacherous," a sort of subdivision of the Cayugas. They settled mainly on the Ohio, their headquarters being a few miles below Steubenville, at Mingo Town, mouth of Beaver Creek, where resides their illustrious chief Tahgahjute, meaning "his eyelashes stick out," as if looking through or over something, spying, or shrewd, but renowned under the name of Logan. He came to Mingo Town from his Pennsylvania home in 1770 and seems to have remained there until early in 1773, when he removed temporarily to the mouth of Yellow Creek, where he established a hunting camp. In the early part of 1774, he trans-

ferred his dwelling to Old Chillicothe (Westfall) on the west bank of the Scioto, in what was known as the Darby Plains. In his Chillicothe cabin he was not distant from his people for higher up on the same river, at the Forks of the Scioto, juncture of the Olentangy —as then known, now the Big Darby,—present site of Circleville, the Mingoes had made village settlements, shortly after the French and Indian War. They also had scattering habitats on the Sandusky and were therefore often called the "Senecas of the Sandusky," being erroneously credited to the Seneca tribe.

North of the Delawares from the regions of the headwaters of the Tuscarawas and the Cuyahoga to the mouth of the latter and east along the southern shores of Erie were various bands of the Iroquois tribes, mainly of the Seneca and Tuscarawas nations, but their occupancy was temporary in character, being chiefly for hunting purposes.

West of the Cuyahoga, in the valley of the Sandusky particularly, were the chief towns of the Wyandots, but they spread in scattered dwellings from Lake Erie to the Ohio, with villages on the course of the Hocking and also along the southern shores of Erie to the Maumee. They were a brave and noble people.

In the same northern region were the Ottawas, their villages being indiscriminately located with those of the Wyandots, indeed members of these two tribes often pitched their wigwams side by side.

The powerful tribe of the Miamis had for their habitat the valleys of the great Miami and the Maumee. They claimed to be the original proprietors of the lands they occupied; asserting that they had always retained

them. In 1763, however, they left their homes on the Miami, abandoning their chief town Piqua, and settling on the Maumee.

The Mingoes likewise had settlements along up the Scioto as far north as the mouth of the river formerly called the Whetstone, now known as the Olentangy. Much confusion arises among writers, as to the locations on the Scioto relative to the Olentangy—a confusion owing to the transference of the name Olentangy or Ollentangy from one river to another. The river known as the Big Darby, which rises in Logan county and empties into the west side of the Scioto, at present site of Circleville, was originally known to the Indians as the Ollentangy. In the later pioneer settlement days it became known as the (Big) Darby, while the river, flowing from two head streams, its east and west branches, rising in the north of the state, formed a river known to the Indians as Keenhongsheconsepung, which later became known to the pioneers as the Whetstone, and which enters the Scioto from the northeast at the present site of Columbus. In 1833 the Ohio Legislature undertook to restore the Indian names of many Ohio rivers and made the mistake of "restoring" the name Olentangy to the Whetstone instead of to the Big Darby. Hence events, in early Indian days, spoken of as occurring at or near the juncture of the Olentangy and the Scioto should be located at Circleville rather than at Columbus. This same act of the legislature, among other changes, declared that the "main west branch of the Muskingum, commonly called the White Woman," should thereafter be known by the Indian name Walhonding.

But the tribe that shall from now on be most constant and conspicuous in the eye of history is the Shawnee, the most remarkable of all the people inhabiting the region east of the Mississippi. We have already, in previous pages, spoken of their origin, their character, wanderings and warrior triumphs. They have been called the "Spartans of their Race," and the "Bedouins of the American Wilderness," for their bands were found on the banks of the Mississippi; in the Valley of the Shenandoah; on the hunting grounds of Kentucky; on the Mobile River, in New Spain; on the Congaree in South Carolina; on the Cumberland and the Tennessee; in the Valley of the Susquehanna and they even followed the river courses of the Illinois and Wisconsin. But gradually the Shawnees gravitated to the inland rivers of Ohio, particularly the Scioto, at the mouth of which they at first built their principal town; in time they moved up stream to the "Pickaway Plains," the "wilderness garden" of the Scioto Valley, where they located their chief settlements. There they were to gather and their wanderings were to cease.

The Pickaway Plains may be designated as the section lying between the Scioto on the west, Salt Creek on the east and extending north and south between lines which would run east and west through Circleville and Chillicothe respectively. This rich bottom land, the most fertile in Ohio, was the favorite location of the prehistoric Mound Builders, as well as the most historic field of the Ohio Indians. In this plain on Scippo Creek, just north of where it is entered by Congo Creek was Grenadier Squaw's Town, a wigwam center thus named from a Shawnee woman of great

muscular strength and superior intellect. She was the sister of the one, who at that time, was the ablest and most influential chief of his nation. That one was Keightughqua, signifying a blade or stalk of the maize, hence the cornstalk, or chief support of his people and who was therefore known to the whites as Cornstalk, in early works sometimes written Cornstock.

As we learn from the Draper manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Society library, Cornstalk was born, about 1720, in one of the Scioto towns of the Shawnees and first appears in historical annals as a leader of the Shawnee bands in their forays into the interior settlements of Virginia during and after the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War. At the head of his fearless followers, Cornstalk in his raids, crossed the Ohio, penetrated the Greenbrier regions and scaled the Alleghany Mountains, murdering the inhabitants and plundering the white settlements in the heart of the Shenandoah Valley. Many were the captives he carried from the Virginia backwoods dwellings to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. He was one of the hostages retained by Colonel Bouquet (1764) and carried to Fort Pitt from which he escaped and returned to his people. Cornstalk is described as a large man, of commanding appearance and possessed of "oratorical ability and intellectual grasp." His capital, called Cornstalk's Town, was on the north bank of Scippo Creek, a short distance from his sister's village. The Shawnees, it will thus be seen, occupied geographical advantage ground in Ohio, and the political center. They boasted they could put in the field a thousand warriors.

Such in general was the Indian situation in Ohio in the Fall of 1770; and while the canoes of Washington, in his voyage down the Ohio, were gently riding the current of the majestic river, the Indians up the tributary Ohio valleys, and especially the Shawnees on the Pickaway Plains, were busy with "enterprises of great pith and moment;" none other than plans for an invincible confederation.

Since the French and Indian War the Ohio Indians had watched with increasing apprehension the influx into their territory of traders and prospectors; they liked not, nor had they acquiesced in, the Stanwix Treaty, for they denied the right of the Six Nations to convey to the English a title to all hunting grounds south of the Ohio; the haughtiness and highhandedness of the Iroquois aroused their anger and their jealousy, and gradually the Ohio tribes grew stronger in reciprocal sympathy, and more and more they recognized the necessity of mutual plan and action. They would form a great and all-powerful confederacy that should surpass the prowess of the Iroquois, their racial masters, and that should hurl back from their frontiers the invading white foe. For our knowledge of their gigantic scheme and the movements to put it into effect we rely mainly upon the correspondence between Sir William Johnson and his home government superiors, the Earl of Hillsborough, and his successor (in 1772) the Earl of Dartmouth, successively secretaries in the British cabinet for American affairs; a correspondence published in the New York Colonial Documents.

Johnson's watchful ear had caught the whisperings, flitting from tribe to tribe, concerning this proposed alliance and its far-reaching purpose. The word had been passed along that a congress would be called, at the opportune time, on the Pickaway Plains. As early as the Summer of 1770 the Baronet of Johnson Hall wrote the Earl in London that he had "taken measures to be informed as early as possible with the proceedings and issues of the Congress, which they are about this time to hold at the great plain of Sioto (Scioto) near the Ohio, where some are endeavoring to form a confederacy for many bad purposes, secretly countenanced and supported by French traders, renegades and all those Indians who have not hitherto been heartily attached to the English, but with wonderful art, have for a time past endeavored to shake the fidelity of the Six nations, through the means of some of the Seneca towns, who are most dissatisfied with our (English) conduct."

The first Congress of the various tribes met at the Shawnee headquarters in the late Summer or early Fall of 1770. There was no stenographer present to record the proceedings, not even a newspaper correspondent to make note of the salient features and sensationally print them as "exclusively appearing" in his enterprising daily. To the reader of history that council sat behind closed doors in executive session. William Johnson, however, sums up the result, as he obtained it, in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, written in February, 1771; "the advices I now have received enable me to acquaint you that the Great Council lately held at the Plains of the Scioto is ended;

that the design and endeavors of the Indians in that quarter was to promote such a Union as I before apprehended and endeavored with all possible caution to obstruct."

The Baronet then continues at some length to state that the Congress dissolved "after many debates in general resolutions for promoting peace amongst all the nations as a necessary introduction to a more strict alliance between the Northern and Southern people," that is the Ohio Indians and the tribes of the South. The ulterior purpose of the proposed confederacy was not at this first Congress sufficiently divulged. Evidently the Ohio tribes hoped for an alliance with the Long House of New York, that all nations in solid union might be massed against the English. Johnson, who had great influence with the Iroquois and was addressed by them as Brother Warraghiyagey, "Manager of Affairs," put forth every effort to retain the Six Nations steadfast to the Crown and in accordance with that purpose he held a council with their representatives at the German Flats. That he might influence the Ohio Indians and at the same time become thoroughly informed as to their projects and progress he sent an Indian chief known as Thomas King, and one Anawaske, next in authority, with Nickaroondase, and several young Indians, as an embassy to the Ohio country "with ample powers for restoring peace and effectively checking all those who would disturb us."

It was in the Summer of 1771 that Thomas King with his retinue met "all the nations at Scioto and first addressed the Shawnees whom he upbraided for returning so far down the Ohio and for confederating with

other people unmindful of their engagements. * * * The Shawnees answered that the Six Nations had long seemed to neglect them and to disregard the promises they formerly made, of giving them the lands between the Ohio and the Lakes; that thus distressed they went on board their canoes, determined to go whithersoever fortune should drive them, but were stopped many years ago at Scioto by the Six Nations who took them by the hands and fixed them there, charging them to live in peace with the English. * * * The Shawnees and the representatives of other nations present, then showed some emblematical belts representing themselves and the Illinois Indians in alliance with ten other confederate Nations."

At the gathering, apparently the second Congress, or second session in the promotion of the Confederacy, there were present representatives from the far western tribes, Potawattomies, Kickapoos, etc., and from the South, Catawbas, Creeks, Chickesaws and Cherokees. It was an international or rather inter-tribal game of diplomacy with all the white man's embellishments of bravado and duplicity. William Johnson strove to play the Iroquois power against the proposed Ohio confederacy and in this he did not labor in vain. The Six Nations naturally regarded an Ohio confederacy with jealousy if not open hostility, and their alleged representative, in the complicated negotiations, appears in the person of Gaustarax or Agastarax, a Seneca chief with headquarters at Chenussio Town (Geneseo, N. Y.). He appeared among the Ohio tribes and proposed "to remove the door of the Six Nations which was formerly at his village, Chenussio, down to the Scioto plains."

This was evidently an act of cajolery or menace, perhaps a mingling of both, to induce the Ohio tribes to desist in their proposed union. Under an alarm, real or assumed, the Shawnees sent by Agastarax, belts of peace and amity to strengthen their union with the Six Nations, but they never received any answer thereto, for Agastarax never delivered the emblems of friendship.

Meanwhile in July, 1771, William Johnson summoned a council of the Six Nations at Johnson Hall. The purpose of this was to further influence the Long House against any Ohio alliance, also to imbue the New York braves with the idea that the Ohio tribes should be held in friendly relationship. This council was attended by three hundred and fifty representatives, including Iroquois chiefs and their retinue. The speech, as reported by Johnson, made at this gathering by the Iroquois orator, is most adroit. He vouched for the friendly feeling held by the Six Nations for the Ohio tribes and declared that "any evil yet remaining proceeds from Gaustarax the chief of Chenussio, who is now under ground [he had just died] and was always a busy man, that privately and wickedly concerned himself in mischief in the name but without the privity of the Six Nations. This troublesome man sent, at the late Indian War, a belt hatchet with many bad speeches to the Shawanese, and to all the people living that way but kept it very secret from Sagenquaraghta [Chief of the Senecas] knowing he was a friend of the English."

This bold deceit of Gaustarax "a very artful and designing man, always employed in mischief," was not discovered for a considerable time by the Ohio

tribes, and when complained of by them was disavowed, as we have seen, by the Six Nations. It is a question, however, if the Shawnees, the agents of the Ohio tribes in all this matter, were not equally disingenuous, when they sent peaceful emblems to the Iroquois; were not the Greeks giving gifts?

In October (1771) Sir William Johnson received the "disagreeable news that Thomas King died at Charles Town, South Carolina, after having discharged the embassy committed to him." After the Ohio Congress, which King attended, had completed its work and adjourned, the Catawba delegates escorted King and his party to Charleston, where he sickened and died. The others sailed for Philadelphia but Anawaske died on the voyage; the remaining members of the party reached Johnson Hall where Nickaroondase made report of the embassy and journey to the Ohio Indian Congress.

But all this time the Ohio Indians and tribes West and South, were persistently prosecuting their plans for the great confederacy, and another Congress was held at the Pickaway Plains in July, 1772, at which the confederacy was consummated, if indeed it had not been fully organized a year before. Thus on the banks of the Scioto were united Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Ottawas, Miamis, Illinois, and western tribes—in a great Western Confederacy, "the most powerful that ever menaced the frontiers or confronted English civilization in America." The Shawnees were the chief constituency of this union and Cornstalk their great leader was recognized as the head of the tribal alliance.

In the year 1773, the elements of hatred and strife were rife on both sides of the Ohio. The embers of war among the allied tribes were here and there bursting into flames, which were fanned by the increasing incursion of surveyors, speculators and settlers. Many of these intruding whites were lawless in their methods and regarded the redmen as having no rights they were bound to respect. On the north the French Canadians were urging on the discontent of the Ohio tribes while the Spaniards west of the Mississippi were goading to enmity the tribes on the Illinois. On the south the Virginians were growing bolder and more frequent in their trans-river invasions; on the east the Iroquois held to the English. The Ohio Indians grew more sullen and desperate and the warlike mutterings in their wigwams and villages became ever more alarming. In the spring of this year (1773) Sir Johnson wrote the Earl of Dartmouth that the general alliance and confederacy of the western savage "has a very unfavorable appearance and will most probably be attended with many dangerous consequences; we may probably be soon involved in the dreadful consequences of an Indian war." The Baronet was unceasing in his watchfulness over the Six Nations, counseling them to summon to their chief settlements all the tribesmen scattered along the river and on the north side of the Ohio.

The Shawnee messengers kept in touch with the tribes on the Wabash and the Illinois, while at the same time Johnson sent deputies among the more western nations, especially those in the vicinity of Detroit and succeeded in no small measure in detaching

them from the Ohio confederation. The tribes of the far south found obstacles in the way of their coöperation with the Ohio Confederacy, though they were in sympathy with it, especially the Cherokees, for they particularly, as well as the other Carolinian and Georgian nations, were unfriendly to the Iroquois, because of the latter's assumed supremacy over the southern country in the Stanwix Treaty; but there was the physical barrier of the Virginian white settlements, lying between the Carolinian nations and the numerous Ohio tribes.

But the followers of Cornstalk were undaunted and dreamed not of failure. In the Summer (1773) another general Congress of the tribesmen met on the Scioto Plains and the Ohio tribes were found constant in their hostility and firm in their plans for a war of extermination upon the English. The inevitable conflict was precipitated partially by the events occurring at the Forks of the Ohio, partially by more momentous proceedings further down the river.

George Croghan, Pennsylvania's deputy Indian agent, located at Fort Pitt, in the late Autumn of 1773, summoned to his quarters some Shawnee chiefs, that he might confer with them concerning the threatening situation. Upon their compliance he retained them as "quasi-hostages" from December (1773) to the April following. During their detention they were fired upon in their huts by a "party posing as Virginian Militia," assembled by one John Connolly.

Fort Pitt was a point of disputed proprietorship. For more than twenty years the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia had each laid claim to the Forks

of the Ohio and the adjacent country. The claim of Virginia was stoutly maintained by Governor Dinwiddie on the grounds, aside from the dispute as to provincial boundaries, that in the war of 1754, Virginia took the lead and bore the brunt of the contest for the gateway to the Ohio Valley, while Pennsylvania held back and took slight interest and small part in the opposition to the attempted French occupation. The disputed possession was a standing question, when early in 1774 Lord Dunmore, who had become by royal appointment —in 1772—governor of the Virginia province, determined by forceful measures to assert Virginia's rights and dispatched Dr. John Connolly, nephew of George Croghan, with a captain's commission and instructions, to proceed to Fort Pitt and take possession, in the name of the King, of that point and the adjacent country upon the Monongahela. It was a high-handed piece of business, but Dr. Connolly was an ambitious and unscrupulous man, eminently fitted to carry out the orders of the imperious and arbitrary Dunmore. Connolly proceeded to the scene of action and issued a proclamation calling upon the people in the regions of Redstone and Pittsburg, claimed to be in the territory of Augusta County, Virginia, to meet on the last days of January (1774) in order to be enlisted as Virginia militiamen.

Arthur St. Clair, of whom we shall hear much later on, the representative, in that section, of the proprietors of the Pennsylvania province, was then in Pittsburg and in defense of the rights of his colony promptly arrested Connolly, before the latter's militia could assemble. In his report of the affair, written to the

governor of the province and printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, St. Clair says: "About eighty persons in arms assembled themselves, chiefly from Mr. Croghan's neighborhood and the country west of and below the Monongahela and after parading through the town and making a kind of feu de joy, proceeded to the Fort, where a cask of rum was produced on the parade and the head knocked out. This was a very effectual way of recruiting."

It was the members of this "militia" mob that fired on the huts of Colonel Croghan's Shawnee prisoners. Connolly, on being released, hastened to Williamsburg, capital of Virginia, where he was further commissioned with civil and military authority to execute the laws of Virginia. On his way back to Pittsburg, Connolly stopped at the quarters of William Crawford, who wrote Washington telling him of Connolly's call and saying "he tells me that it is now without doubt that the new government is fallen through and that Lord Dunmore is to take charge of so much of the quarter as falls out of Pennsylvania." As Butterfield remarks, "the return of Connolly was the opening of Pandora's box" for thus empowered, and accompanied by one hundred and fifty armed Virginians, Connolly defied the court of Pennsylvania and took possession of the Ohio Forks.

By the orders of General Gage, British commandant in the colonies, Fort Pitt had been, in 1772, dismantled and practically demolished, as being no longer required for military purposes. Its destruction was also intended to reassure the Indians of the peaceful attitude towards them of the English authorities. Connolly

rebuilt a new defensive structure, a small stockade, and named it, after his patron, Fort Dunmore. The contest between Connolly at the head of his armed volunteer militia and the Pennsylvania authorities waxed warm, and it was intimated by St. Clair, in his letters to the Pennsylvania Assembly, that Connolly, assuming to act for the province of Virginia, was instigating further mischief by fostering the growing jealousy between the frontier settlers and the Indians. At any rate in April, Connolly sent messages to the settlers along the Ohio, that the Shawnees were in a state of uprising and the frontiersmen should be prepared to protect themselves and to revenge any wrongs done them. A Williamsburg paper printed an address to Governor Dunmore, urging a speedy declaration of war against the Indians.

While the stirring events were being enacted at Fort Dunmore, occurrences were happening down the river, that contributed to the coming storm. Under the patronage of Washington and other prominent Virginians, surveying parties were seeking to lay out tracts for colonial officers entitled to land grants, along the Ohio in the vicinity of the Kanawha River. They were attacked by the Ohio Shawnees, who claimed to have received instructions from Colonel Croghan, whose intentions and actions in all these affairs is rather difficult of explanation, "to kill all Virginians and to whip and rob any Pennsylvanians found trespassing upon their territory." In the middle of April a canoe belonging to William Butler, a Pittsburg trader, was attacked by Cherokee Indians and the white canoeman killed. Wild rumors flew up and

down the river. The panic became contagious. Settlers and traders in hundreds, fled from the banks of the Ohio to the interior of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Chapter III.

CRESAP'S WAR

VIRGINIA surveying parties along the Ohio were compelled to cease their clashes with the Ohio Indians. One party among whom was George Rogers Clark was at the mouth of the Little Kanawha; another party under Michael Cresap was located farther up the river at Long Beach. Attacks from the Indians across the Ohio became so fierce and frequent that the surveying parties, in self protection, gathered at the mouth of Wheeling Creek, where the Zane brothers, Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan, had made settlements in the year 1770. In this company taking temporary refuge at Wheeling were George Rogers Clark, a youthful Virginian, who was destined to play a prominent part in western history, and Captain Michael Cresap, who now demands our special attention. This Cresap was the son of Colonel Thomas Cresap, who after various migrations in the colonies, settled at Old Town, near the juncture of the north and south branches of the Potomac; he was, as will be recalled, one of the charter members of the original Ohio Company, and marked and laid out the first road from "Wills Creek," Cumberland, to Redstone, following the trail of the Indian Nemacolin, who aided Thomas Cresap in this pioneer road building enterprise.

Captain Michael Cresap, the son, at this time thirty-two years of age, born and reared amid the privations and perils of backwoods life, early set up as a trader and in 1772 had a store at Redstone. He had come to the Ohio to look after some of the land interests of some Virginia gentlemen, one of whom was Washington. The inflammatory messages of Connolly and the

news of the warlike outbreaks along the Ohio aroused the resentment of the Rogers-Cresap party. A proposal to march against the Indians "in any direction" was enthusiastically embraced by the land-seekers and surveyors. Colonel Ebenezer Zane, the most influential resident of the Wheeling settlement, endeavored to dissuade the party from entering upon their bloody plan. Cresap at first acquiesced in Zane's good counsel, but on the arrival of Connolly's circular urging hostilities, war was declared after the Indian fashion. Cresap was selected as the leader of the raiding party, though against his expressed wishes. His involuntary leadership in the events immediately following caused them to be popularly styled "Cresap's War," spoken of by Jacob in his Life of Cresap, as "the portico to the American Revolution."

Cresap's participation in the war bearing his name, led to charges, against him, of many acts of cruelty and inhumanity of which he was entirely innocent. Hearing that some Indians were coming down the Ohio in a boat, members of Cresap's party, he among them, proceeded up stream, and firing from ambush, upon the canoemen, killed two Indians, who proved to be a Shawnee and a Delaware, according to the subsequent report of a trader named Stephens, who was in the canoe with the Indians but escaped unhurt. It was the first blood shed in this "war" and the opening of the flood gates of carnage that preceded Dunmore's War. The same, or the next day, after the killing of the Indian canoemen, the Cresap party boated down the river to the mouth of Captina Creek, where they attacked the encampment of the Shawnee Indians,

killing several of them. This incident is by some writers located at the mouth of Pipe Creek which was six or seven miles above the mouth of Captina Creek. In these affairs, just related, Cresap took part but he was absent from the horrible massacre that followed at Baker's tavern. The sources of our information concerning this event, one of the most historic in western frontier annals, and about which much misstatement has been promulgated, are the Draper Manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Society archives, published with valuable notes by R. G. Thwaites; the New York Colonial Documents; the Archives of the Pennsylvania province; and the Washington-Crawford Letters.

According to George Rogers Clark, who was with the party, on the night of the Captina Creek affair, and whose account of it, written June 17, 1798, appears in English's Life of Clark, a resolution was formed by Cresap's party to attack the camp of Logan, chief of the Mingoes, at the mouth of Yellow Creek. "We actually marched five miles and halted to take some refreshments. Here the impropriety of the proposed enterprise was argued, the conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as it was a hunting camp, composed of men, women and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew, as I, myself, and others then present, had been in their camp about four weeks before that time, on our way down from Pittsburg. In short, every person present, particularly Cresap (upon reflection) was opposed to the projected measure. We turned, and on the same

evening decamped and took the road for Redstone. It was two days after this that Logan's family was killed, and from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrible murder by the whole country."

Logan's camp at the mouth of Yellow Creek, was about fifteen miles above the site of Steubenville. Directly opposite across the Ohio, on the Virginia side, located on what was then called "Baker's Bottom," was the cabin of Joshua Baker, who kept a trader's store and sold rum to the Indians who consequently were his frequent visitors. Although the Mingo camp had been established for some time, the whites living in the vicinity feared no danger as the Mingoes were peaceable and Logan himself had been friendly to the whites, having taken no part in the French and Indian War; indeed it was simply a hunting camp, occupied by the squaws and families as well as the Indian hunters.

The report of Michael Cresap's two attacks on the Ohio Indians may have induced the fear, as was claimed, among the frontiersmen in Baker's vicinity, that the Indians at Yellow Creek would go on the warpath in retaliation. Under this pretext one Daniel Greathouse gathered a party of some twenty white men for the purpose of attacking the Mingo camp. Fearing to risk an open assault he decided to accomplish his purpose by treachery. Accordingly he entered their camp under the guise of friendship, and while ascertaining their numbers and defences, invited them, with apparent hospitality, to visit him at Baker's, across the river next day. Early on the morning of April 30, a canoe laden with Mingoes crossed the

river. The number in the boat varies in different accounts, but there were some seven or eight in all, four or five men unarmed and two or three squaws, one of whom bore a papoose strapped on her back.

On entering Baker's cabin, in accordance with the preconcerted plan, the Greathouse men proceeded to ply the Indian guests with rum, until most of them became excessively drunk. The whites in Baker's cabin were John Sappington, Nathaniel Tomlinson, Edward King, George Cox and one or two others, members of the Greathouse party. One of the Indians, Logan's brother, known as John Petty, took down from their hooks, a military coat and hat, belonging to Baker's brother-in-law, put them on, and strutted about, swearing and saying: "I am a white man," when Sappington irritated, seized his gun and shot him. King, a member of the assaulting party, says one account, stabbed the Indian while in the agonies of death, saying, "Many a deer have I served in this way." At this the other whites murderously assaulted the unresisting savages, shooting or tomahawking in cold blood nearly all of the helpless Indians, not more than one or two escaping.

One of the murdered squaws, as the evidence proves, was the sister of Logan. She had often been to Baker's to get milk for her children, and on this occasion refused to take liquor. When the assault took place she attempted to escape but was shot down; falling she begged, of the miscreant, who was about to brain the little one, "mercy for her babe, telling him that it was a kin to themselves." The dying plea of Logan's sister touched the last remaining spark of

humanity left in the breast of the assassin and he cut the strap that bound the little one to the mother's back. "They had a man in the cabin prepared with a tomahawk for the purpose of killing the three drunk Indians, which was immediately done;" says the account, in the Draper Manuscripts, of Henry Jolly, who was a lad of sixteen at the time, living at Catfish Camp, a small settlement on the path from Wheeling to Redstone, and to whose mother the spared babe was brought the next day, that she might care for the little savage waif. "I very well recollect," says Henry Jolly, "my mother, feeding and dressing the babe, chirping to the little innocent and its smiling, however they took it away and talked of sending it to its supposed father, Col. Geo. Gibson of Carlisle, Pa." Jolly meant John Gibson, and not George.

Valentine Crawford wrote Washington, May 7 (1774), only a week after the occurrence, telling of the Greathouse massacre, "they brought away one child, a prisoner, which is now at my brother William Crawford's." The little girl papoose, then only a few months old, for whose life the dying mother did not plead in vain, had doubtless been passed on to the Crawfords, on its way to its father, John Gibson, to whom it was duly delivered and by whom it is said to have been raised and educated. This sister of Logan was the Indian wife of John Gibson, a very prominent character in the days of which we now write. He was a Pennsylvanian, at this time thirty-five years of age; had served in the army of Forbe's expedition, after which he engaged in the Indian trade. At the outbreak of Pontiac's War he was captured by the Indians and

ordered to be burned at the stake, but was saved by being adopted by a squaw. He was set at liberty by Bouquet's expedition, and Logan's sister became his Indian wife and mother of his children.

At the sound of the firing in Baker's cabin, Indians from the Mingo camp, in two canoes, hastened across the river to learn the nature of the disturbance. They were received by the party of Greathouse, arranged along the river bank and concealed by the underbrush, with a deadly fire, which killed two Indians in the first canoe. The second canoe turned and fled. Two other canoes carrying eighteen armed savages, then pushed out from the Mingo camp and crossed the river to avenge the slaughtered tribesmen. They were unable to land, however, being driven back with the loss of one man. The Greathouse murdering ruffians had wrought their insatiable work and quickly withdrew to the settlement known as Catfish Camp, carrying their only prisoner, the Indian babe whose life they had spared.

That Logan's sister was killed at Baker's there is little if any doubt and the evidence is conclusive that the Indian, donning the military coat, and killed by Sappington, was the brother of the Mingo chief, indeed Sappington himself made written testimony to that fact, his statement being published in Jefferson's Virginia Notes. But that there were other relatives of Logan among the slain there is no evidence of any value. Various authorities assert that his father and his mother and children were victims of the massacre. His father died and was buried at Shamokin, by the Moravians in 1749; his mother if still living, in 1774,

may have been with her son but we fail to find mention of her, anywhere, in connection with Ohio; it is not known that Logan had any children in Ohio, certainly he had none in the party at Baker's; in speaking of his "children" in his famous speech he meant the people of his tribe.

Concerning Logan's family it is pertinent to here state that his father, Shikellimus or Shikellamy,—according to the Draper Manuscripts—had five sons; the youngest died in 1729 at Shamokin. One son was Sayughtowa, but known to the English as "James Logan," being so named from James Logan who was at one time Secretary to William Penn and who later (1736–38) governed the Province of Pennsylvania as president of the council. He was a great friend of the Indians and won the esteem and friendship of Shikellamy. Shikellamy's fourth son "bore the dolorous name of 'Unhappy Jake'" and was killed (1744) by the Catawbas in some tribal warfare. The third son of Shikellamy was Sagogeghyata; known to the English as "John Petty" or "John Petty Shikelimo," having been named after a trader well known as John Petty. The eldest son of Shikellamy was our hero John Logan, born in the Oneida County of New York about 1710—known to fame as simply Logan—also named from the James Logan mentioned above. His Cayuga Indian name was as we have previously noted, Tahgahjute. Another Indian name—probably the Delaware—ascribed to him was "Tachnechdorus"—"the branching out of the forest." Indeed Indian legend gives him other native names applied to him by the different Ohio tribes among whom he was well known.

Of the sisters of Logan, according to the testimony of the Draper Manuscripts, not so much is known. The eldest married, in 1731, an Indian named Cajadis, who had more than local renown as a mighty hunter. He died in 1747. Another sister, who lived among the Conestoga Indians, fell, in 1763, "a sacrifice to the wild ferocity of the Paxton rioters." The name of the alleged sister killed at Baker's is not given in any of the accounts. But that a sister of Logan was one of the victims of the Baker slaughter is asserted by nearly all authorities, including some contemporary narrators, who describe that event. Many of these chroniclers claim, with much corroborative evidence, that this unfortunate sister of Logan was the Indian wife of General John Gibson and that he was the father of her child which was the only being spared the tomahawk of the assailants at Baker's cabin.

Logan had two wives, the first being a Cayuga woman whom he married in Pennsylvania and who bore him children. This wife died in the year 1747 and the children are said to have passed to the care of their aunt living among the Conestoga Indians. After the death of his first wife Logan soon married a Shawnee squaw, reputed to have been of unusual intelligence and one who spoke English. From this marriage there were no children. This wife was probably living in Ohio with Logan at the time of the Baker cabin massacre but she certainly was not one of the victims. In view of the facts as presented above there is great exaggeration in the statement by Doddridge, in his "Indian Wars," published in 1824, to the effect that "the massacre of the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creeks,

comprehended the whole of the family of the famous but unfortunate Logan." That erroneous assertion has had widespread repetition among writers.

Another prevalent error is the statement that Logan was not a chief. The Pennsylvania Archives are indisputable authority for the fact that after the death of his father, Shikellamy, Logan was raised by the Grand Council of Onondaga to the dignity of "Sachem or chief of the Shamokin Indians." Later he became "one of the ten Sachems of the Cayugas." He was known subsequently as a Mingo chief, as upon his removal (1772) to Ohio he made his home with, found his following among, and was regarded as a leader of, the Mingo branch of the Cayugas.

Another historical point at issue concerns the participation of Captain Michael Cresap in the tragic scene at Baker's. His leadership in the preceding events, which without doubt provoked the Baker Bottom tragedy, led to the general rumor and belief that it was Cresap's party which was guilty of the foul and bloody deed and Cresap was charged with the killing of Logan's relations, and Logan's subsequent note and speech so condemned him. But the attestation of persons who were actually present and of others who had knowledge from participants, as appears in the Draper Manuscripts, and the statements and affidavits published by Jefferson in his Virginia Notes, clearly establishes an alibi for Michael Cresap. No one of the Greathouse party testifies that Cresap was present. On the contrary Charles Polke, who lived sixteen miles from Baker's and at whose house, the Greathouse party or a portion of it, gathered, made deposition that "Capt. Michael Cresap was not

of the party:" Harry Innes declared in writing that Baker told him "Captain Michael Cresap was not in the party;" Sappington in a written declaration, to which he was "ready to be qualified at any time," stated "I am intimately acquainted with Cresap and know he had no hand in that transaction. He told me himself afterwards at Redstone old fort, that the day before Logan's people were killed, he, with a small party had an engagement with a party of Indians on Capteener [Captina] about 44 miles lower down. I knew likewise that he was generally blamed for it, and believed by all who were not acquainted with the circumstances, to have been the perpetrator of it. I know that he despised and hated Greathouse ever afterwards on account of it." This from John Sappington, who acknowledged to the killing of Logan's brother.

The Indians of the Yellow Creek Camp, who had been repulsed in their attempted attack on the Greathouse party, fled down the river. Consternation and fright swept over the neighborhood; the Indians were aroused and the settlers alarmed. The narrative of Henry Jolly, relates that just before the Baker tragedy, the Indians were in a great commotion over the white aggressions. Many of them were for war, "however they called a council in which Logan acted a conspicuous part, but at the same time reminded them of some aggression on the part of the Indians and that by a war, they could but harass and distress the frontier settlements for a short time, that the Long Knife would come like the trees in the woods and that ultimately they would be drove from their good land that

they now possessed; he therefore strongly recommended peace, to him they all agreed, grounded the hatchet, everything wore a tranquil appearance when behold, in come the fugitives from Yellow Creek; Logan's father (?), brother and sister murdered; what is to be done now; Logan has lost three of his nearest and dearest relations, the consequence is that the same Logan, who a few days before was so pacific, raises the hatchet, with a declaration, that he will not ground it, until he has taken ten for one, which I believe he completely fulfilled by taking thirty scalps and prisoners the summer of '74."

The scenes at this council were reported to Jolly by eye witnesses. In July of this year one William Robinson, was captured on the Monongahela, while working in the field, by a band of Indians, at the head of which was Logan. In his statement published in the Virginia Notes, Robinson relates that "Logan spoke English well and manifested a friendly disposition to the subscriber," Robinson; "that in these conversations he always charged Capt. Michael Cresap with the murder of his family." After a week's journey they arrived at the Mingo Town and Logan rescued Robinson from the fate of being burned at the stake, adopted him in place of the brother killed at Yellow Creek. "That about three days after this Logan brought him a piece of paper and told him he must write a letter for him, which he [Logan] meant to carry and leave in some house where he should kill somebody." Robinson making ink with water and gunpowder and using an eagle quill for a pen at Logan's direction wrote a note, the exact wording of which Robinson, at the

time of his declaration (February, 1800), could not remember, but recalled the substance, to which note he signed Logan's name. Logan took the note and tying it to a war club, caused it to be left at the house of one Roberts, where a massacre occurred some weeks later, undoubtedly at the instigation of Logan. That note read: "Captain Cresap, what did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin, at Conestoga, a great while ago; and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry, only myself. Captain John Logan."

The tiger in the hitherto amiable Mingo chief had been roused, but that the Indians of Ohio were not all angry, is amply proven by the Moravian records of that time. The spring of 1774 was a turbulent one for all the Ohio tribes. Many inhuman and revolting deeds fill the pages of those bloody days, one being the cruel outrage committed in the murder of Bald Eagle, an aged and inoffensive Delaware chief, "who wandered harmlessly up and down among the whites, visiting those most frequently who would entertain him best." He was ascending alone, upon the Ohio in his canoe, after a visit to the stockade at the mouth of the Kanawha, when he was met by a white man who killed and scalped him and then to add fiendish horror to the abominable crime, set the dead body of the old chief upright in the canoe, and sent it adrift upon the current. The news of this grewsome outrage was soon borne to the Delaware people who vowed vengeance upon the whites.

A companion crime to the shooting of Bald Eagle was the murder, near the same time, of Silver Heels, one of the favorite chiefs of the Shawnees, among whom he lived on the Muskingum. He was one of the few Shawnees friendly to the whites and had just guided some white traders from the Shawnee country to Pittsburg, when on his return, during his passage through the Ohio woods he was met by a party of whites and foully killed. This incident naturally added to the fury of his tribesmen.

While the Seneca tribe, in the main, was friendly to the whites, those within the borders of Ohio, were stirred by the bloody aggressions of the Virginians. The Shawnees as we have seen, were the most implacable in their hostility, but the Delawares for the most part remained friendly to the whites, advocating peace rather than retaliatory measures. This attitude brought upon the Delawares the increased hatred of the warlike tribes, especially the Shawnees. Again the friendly association of the Delawares with the Moravians created suspicion and enmity of the other tribes toward the missionary settlements of Gnadenhutten and Schoenbrunn, through whose cleanly and peaceful precincts, bands of tribal warriors marched, threatening vengeance upon the inhabitants who were thereby kept in a perpetual state of alarm. Indeed the non-Moravian Delawares were disposed to cast their lot with the hostile tribes, in opposition to the Delaware Christians, but were held in check mainly by White Eyes, at this time the first captain among the Delawares, whose village known as White Eyes' Town was situated on the Tuscarawas, six miles below the Dela-

ware capital where dwelt Netawatwees, and White Eyes who, says Loskiel, "kept the chiefs and council in awe, and would not suffer them to injure the missionaries, being in his own heart convinced of the truth of the gospel." White Eyes plead for the protection of the Moravian Indians, while Netawatwees, formerly friendly, now sided with the enemies of Zeisberger's converts; indeed the clash between White Eyes and Netawatwees threatened untold calamities, when peaceful measures prevailed and some Indian Christians were appointed and accepted as arbitrators, to whom the disputants presented their respective opinions. The result was beyond expectations, for Chief Netawatwees not only acknowledged the injustice done to Captain White Eyes, but resumed his former attitude with respect to the believing Indians and their teachers and remained their friend to his death.

It was truly a time that tried the steadfast souls of the Moravians, for their missions were storm centers and their very existence was at stake. War, however, between the Long Knives and the redmen was inevitable and early in the summer, the Shawnees, the Senecas, the Mingoes, recruited by many Delawares, and the Cherokees, were in the field. The "Long Knives" as the Indians called the Virginians were preparing for organized and offensive action.

Early in June, Governor Dunmore planned an expedition against the capital of Cornstalk on the Scioto. A decisive blow would be struck, without delay, at the very heart of the Ohio Confederacy on the Pickaway Plains. For the commander of this campaign, Dunmore chose Major Angus McDonald, a man of military

figure and strong personality, born a Scotch Highlander, trained in English warfare, a fugitive from his native land to France, thence an emigrant to Virginia in 1750. He participated in the French and Indian War, from which he retired with the rank of captain and a bounty of 2000 acres of military lands. McDonald was instructed to raise a regiment of four hundred men, proceed to Wheeling and there erect a fort and thence invade the Ohio wilderness and destroy the Shawnee villages on the Scioto. McDonald was the man to promptly and forcefully execute orders. The men were recruited from the Monongahela and Youghiogheny regions and rendezvoused at Wheeling. The stockade was built as directed and named Fort Fincastle, and placed in command of Colonel William Crawford. Among McDonald's captains were Michael Cresap, Sr., one of whose subordinates was George Rogers Clark, and Michael Cresap, Jr., nephew of his namesake. On July 26, with Jonathan Zane as one of the guides, and stocked with seven days' provisions, the little army set out for the enemy's country.

In canoes, the troops descended the Ohio to the mouth of Fish Creek, where they landed on the Ohio banks and began a ninety mile march to Wakotomica —Wapatomica, or Wakatameke and otherwise—as it is differently spelled. The place was derisively called "Vomit Town" by the traders, because its Indian denizens, for years, had been the miserable dupes of medicine prophets who claimed to bring about salvation by means of emetics. The name Wakotomica included several small Shawnee towns clustered near together on the Muskingum. It was a tedious tramp

of many days, in which Indian ambuscades or attacks were momentarily expected. But the enemy did not appear until the invaders were within six miles of the Shawnee center, when some thirty tribal warriors, lying in ambush at the head of a swampy crossing, suddenly opened fire upon the advancing column. The brisk encounter lasted half an hour, when the Indians, doubtless overwhelmed by superior numbers, broke and fled, with four dead and several wounded.

The Virginians had two killed and five disabled, for the care of whom, McDonald left a sufficient force, while he pushed on toward the Muskingum, which he reached at nightfall on the second of August. The Indians ambushed on the opposite side of the river, at what McDonald in his report to Connolly, calls the Snake's Town because there dwelt two Shawnee captains known as John and Thomas Snake. The Indians prepared to receive the enemy and protect the Shawnee settlements. McDonald halted for the night, sending Captain Cresap with his company to another point on the river, where before daylight he made a passage and fell upon the waiting Indians, killing one and wounding many others. The Shawnees asked for a peace parley, requesting time to send for their chiefs, whose authority must be consulted. McDonald demanded hostages as evidence of good faith while negotiations were pending, during which interval the wily savages cleared their villages, packing off their women, children and goods. McDonald enraged at the Indian subterfuge and treachery advanced on to the towns, only to find them abandoned. He then

burned the five villages, destroyed five hundred bushels of old corn and cut down seventy-five acres of standing maize.

It was not advisable to proceed farther, for the army was destitute of provisions and had to subsist on weeds, one ear of corn each day, and a very scant supply of game. "A small quantity of old corn and one cow were the entire spoils of the villages," writes Abraham Thomas, one of the soldiers in the expedition, as quoted by Dodge in his "Redmen of the Ohio Valley." "These were distributed among the men, the villages burned and the troops commenced their march for the Ohio River, where they expected to meet provisions sent down from Redstone. The men became exceedingly famished on this march, and I myself being young was so weak that I could not longer carry anything on my person. An older brother and one or two others kept encouraging me. One of them had a good stock of tobacco; I saw him take it, and with an earnestness boardering on delirium, I insisted on having some. As I had never used it before, they refused, thinking it would entirely disable me; but as I was so importunate, they at last gave me a small piece; I directly felt myself relieved; they gave me more, and in a short time my strength and spirits returned. I took my arms and baggage, and was able to travel with the rest of them, and was actually the first to reach the Ohio. Here we met the boats, but nothing in them but corn in the ear; every man was soon at work with his tomahawk, crushing it on the stones, and mixing it with water in gourds or leaves fashioned in the shape of cups, while some provident ones enjoyed the aristo-

cratic luxury of tin cups; but all seemed alike to relish the repast. A party of us crossed the Ohio that day for the settlement, when we came up with a drove of hogs, in tolerable order. We shot one and eat him on the spot, without criticizing with much nicety the mode or manner of preparation. Indeed, the meat itself was so savory and delicious, we thought of little else. In a few days, I returned to my parents, and after a little domestic storming, and much juvenile vaunting of our exploits, settled down to clearing."

The expedition thus ended at Wakotomica, whence it returned across the country to Wheeling, which was reached in the middle of August. The Virginians brought with them three hostage chiefs, who were sent on to Williamsburg, where they were released at the peace made the succeeding fall. The results of this predatory raid were not, in a material way, all that had been expected. But it struck terror to the Shawnees who now abandoned all their settlements on the Muskingum and fell back to the Scioto.

But not alone were the Ohio tribes goaded to a state of fury over the frontier atrocities. The waves of war sentiment rolled across the Ohio and swept the country of the Iroquois and when their chiefs learned of the wanton acts committed by the whites upon their race on the borders of the Beautiful River they were ready to spring to arms, and they signified to Sir William Johnson their desire to hold a council with him, without delay, in order to consider the crisis that threatened their trans-Ohio brothers and involved themselves. The request was granted and by the seventh of July nearly six hundred Indians of the Six Nations assembled

at Johnson Hall. Seldom had the big men and the braves of the confederacy gathered amid such feelings of apprehension and agitation. Seneca and Cayuga orators addressed the lord of Johnson Hall, reciting their grievances, the infringement of the terms of the Stanwix treaty by the whites who ruthlessly ignored the limits prescribed and invaded the Indian confines; the lawless acts of numberless traders; the unmerited atrocities on the Ohio; and the impending war against their Ohio dependents; had the Indians no rights the white man was bound to respect?

Two days later Sir Johnson made reply, speaking for two hours with all the persuasiveness of his eloquence and with the fire and animation of an Indian orator, for he was more than equal to them in his power and manner. He assured the chiefs that the outrages of which they complained were the acts of a few lawless individuals and not of the English government, which would take prompt measures to ferret out and punish the guilty parties. At the same time, he reminded them that they themselves were not wholly without blame and they too, must keep in restraint their own people and prevent their being led astray by the wily Shawnees. When Johnson had ceased speaking, pipes and tobacco were distributed among the Indians, who adjourned to meditate upon what they had heard.

Never again did they hear the voice of the great brother, "Warraghiyagey, Superintendant of affairs," ever their friend, for scarcely had his audience dispersed when Sir Johnson, an invalid for many years, overtaxed by his earnest and prolonged appeal, was seized with a fatal attack of his disease, and in a few hours

passed forever from the scenes of his eventful life. The Indians of the great convention, who had just listened like children to his fatherly voice were dumbfounded and thrown into the greatest confusion and doubt. Sir William Johnson for a score and a half of years had been the most dominant figure in the Indian affairs of the colonies and the Northwest, while his services in behalf of the Crown, as a major general in the colonial forces, and a member of the provincial council, had been most conspicuous. In the French and Indian War and during Pontiac's conspiracy, it was due almost solely to him that the Six Nations were mainly restrained from throwing their influence against the English. His intimate knowledge of the languages, customs, and temperament of the Indians, his lordly appearance, accomplishment of manner, generosity, patience, honesty and fair-dealing, gave him uninterrupted sway over the Six Nations and other tribes. Moreover Sir William was allied to their people by the ties of kinship for the mother of his children was Molly Brant, sister of Thayendanegea, or Joseph Brant, the foremost chief of the Iroquois confederacy. But their illustrious patron, friend and adviser was gone.

Colonel Guy Johnson, son-in-law of Sir William, and his deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, at once hastened to calm the perturbed spirits of the assembled tribesmen, assuring them that his Majesty the King of England would see that their interests and rights would still be cared for. The funeral of Sir William was attended by the Indians in a body, who "behaved," adds Sir Guy in his letter to the Earl of Dartmouth,

"with the greatest decorum and exhibited the most lively marks of real sorrow." The day after the burial the tribesmen held their "ceremony of condolence" over the grave. It was a pathetic and dramatic occasion. Impressive and heart-felt addresses, emphasized by the giving of wampum strings, were made by their chief speakers, one of whom, addressing Guy Johnson, said "Since it has pleased the Great Spirit to take from us our great brother Warraghiyagey, we now speak in the name of our whole Confederacy and dependents, expressing our thanks that, agreeably to our former request to Sir William Johnson, we now see you taking care of our affairs. We earnestly expect you to take due care of them as that *great man did*, who promised you to us; and we now desire that you will send these our words to the great king, who, we hope, will regard our desires, and approve of you as the only person that knows us and our affairs, that business may go on as it did formerly. Otherwise, in this alarming time of trouble, without your care and attention, our affairs will fall into great confusion, and all our good works will be destroyed." Sir Guy Johnson succeeded to the office of Superintendent of Indian affairs and John Johnson, son of the late William succeeded to the vast estates of his father.

Chapter IV.

DUNMORE'S WAR

THE expedition of Col. Angus McDonald, which was only partially successful, was but the forerunner of more momentous events. Lord Dunmore had already resolved to send forth a force of Virginia militia that would effectually overwhelm and bring to submissive terms the confederated Ohio tribesmen. Just what motives severally actuated Lord Dunmore in his aggressive and zealous determination in this matter will be inquired into later on. For the present, however, it should be explained that Virginia fought this war wholly unaided by Pennsylvania or indeed any other colony. It will be recalled that Virginia through her original and amended charters, claimed that her boundaries extended from the Atlantic coast across all intervening land to the sea on the west, though by the International treaty of 1763, the English colonial possessions ceased at the Mississippi, the unexplored country west of that river having been ceded to Spain. This last adjustment, therefore, still left Virginia claimant of the strip to the Mississippi, embracing the southern half of Ohio and the section of Pennsylvania then in dispute. The Virginians had protested against the Quebec act of 1763 and now came a more vigorous dissent to the second Quebec act, which passed Parliament in June, 1774. This act, so obnoxious to the colonists in general and Virginia in particular, an act which drew forth in Parliament one of the most famous invectives of the Earl of Chatham, who pronounced it "cruel, oppressive and odious" and "calculated to finally lose his Majesty the hearts of all Americans," provided a government for the Province of Quebec, embracing the domain west

and north of the Ohio, known later as the Northwest Territory, thereby virtually extending the ancient limits of Canada.

The act of 1774 sanctioned therein the Catholic religion and the administration of the French civil law. This arbitrary and—to the American colonists—offensive jurisdiction covered the scattered western traders' posts and more firmly than ever excluded any control over it or interest in it by the sea-board colonies. The Virginians had stronger designs on this territoy than the Pennsylvanians, for the former sought not only unrestricted trading privileges therein, but also, what was more detrimental to the Indians, rights of settlement. The Pennsylvanians desired that the Indians be left in undisputed and undisturbed possession of the trans-Ohio empire, to the end that the fur trade, extensive and lucrative to Quaker provincials, might be undiminished. Hence the interests of the two adjoining provinces, east and south of the Ohio, were adverse, and Pennsylvania, naturally more peaceable in the character of her people, allowed the pugnacious Virginian to enter the fight practically unaided.

Another element now comes into the play in the current of events and influences the actions of Lord Dunmore. The rumblings of the approaching American Revolution began to reverberate in the valleys of Virginia. The week before Christmas (1773) the Boston patriots, disguised as Indians had boarded the importing ships and cast the chests of taxable tea into the sea. It was the fuse that exploded the mine. Exciting events rapidly followed. Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill, by which the town and harbor

of Boston were to be closed to foreign commerce on and after June 1 (1774).

When the news of this odious act of Parliament reached Williamsburg, the Virginia House of Burgesses, among the members of which were George Washington, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, aroused to indignation over the oppression of the mother country, adopted a resolution of protest and designated the first of June as a day of fasting, prayer and humiliation, because of the heavy calamity threatening their colonial rights. On learning of this independent action, Lord Dunmore summoned the Burgesses in the Council Chamber where, says Irving, he made the following laconic speech: "Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses; I have in my hand a paper, published by order of your House, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon His Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you and you are dissolved accordingly." It was the end of the meetings of the House of Burgesses, as such, though many of the members met the next day, as Virginians, to take measures looking to the convening of a general congress of the colonies.

This high-handed action of Governor Dunmore was in accordance with his character and official policy. Born as John Murray in Scotland in 1732, he was a descendant in the female line from the royal House of Stuart, the blood of the luxurious and imperious Charleses ran in his veins and he was a Tory of the Tories. He had been prominent in the House of Lords and was married to Lady Charlotte Stuart, who was closely related to many of the families of English nobility. In 1770 he

was appointed colonial governor of New York, and two years later became the last colonial governor of Virginia. He naturally elected to stand loyally by his king in the clash between the Crown and the colonies.

But the dissolution of the House of Burgesses and the reprimand given its members did not deter the governor in his preparation for the war against the Ohio Indians and his efforts were not relaxed. Lord Dunmore held his allegiance as first due his king but he was also "eager to champion the cause of Virginia as against either the Indians or her sister colonies." The Burgesses early in May had authorized the governor to enter upon this hostile expedition across the Ohio and spite of his position concerning the attitude of the colony respecting the acts of Parliament, the Virginians rallied vigorously to Dunmore's call for troops. The Virginians saw the clouds gathering in the east, but another storm in the west was howling over their frontier.

The militia system then in vogue in the colony, as may be learned from Jefferson's Virginia notes, provided that in each county there should be a chief military officer, known as the County-Lieutenant, who should enroll the militia enlistments and have general supervision thereof. Below him in rank was a colonel, then a lieutenant-colonel, and lastly a major. A regiment consisted of five hundred men, or ten companies of fifty men each with the usual officers of captain, lieutenant, ensign and sergeants. In August the din of preparation for the coming campaign resounded throughout Virginia. An army for offensive operations was called for. Dunmore directed that this army

should consist of volunteers and militiamen, chiefly from the counties west of the Blue Ridge, to be organized into two divisions. The northern division, embracing the troops collected in Frederick, Dunmore (now Shenandoah) and adjacent counties, was to be commanded by Lord Dunmore in person; the southern division, comprising the companies raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties east of the Blue Ridge was to be led by Colonel Andrew Lewis. The two armies were to number about fifteen hundred each; were to proceed by different routes, unite at the mouth of the Big Kanawha, and from thence cross the Ohio and penetrate the northwest country to the center of the Indian settlements, defeat the redmen and destroy their villages.

In the recital of the events to follow we draw for our authority from the "American Archives," "Thwaite's Documentary History of Dunmore's War," "History of the Battle of Point Pleasant," by Virgil A. Lewis, State Historian for West Virginia, "The Battle of Point Pleasant" by Mrs. Livia Nye Simpson Poffenberger, Editor *State Gazette*, Point Pleasant, West Virginia, and notes taken by the writer during a personal study of routes followed by the two armies in the campaign.

Lord Dunmore established his headquarters at "Greenway Court," the home of Lord Thomas Fairfax in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. Here more than a thousand men were enlisted and formed into two regiments, one, known as the "Frederick County Regiment," under Colonel Adam Stephen, who had seen service under McDonald, Braddock, Forbes and

Washington. By the last of August the Dunmore division began its march for the west, both regiments proceeding to Redstone, on the Monongahela, where they separated, Stephen's regiment, with the beef cattle, crossing the country to Wheeling, at the same time Crawford's men, accompanied by Lord Dunmore, marched to Pittsburg, where they were joined by the "West Augusta Battalion" of two hundred men under command of Major John Connolly.

Before departing from Pittsburg, Dunmore and his officers held conferences with some of the envoys of the Six Nations and of the Ohio tribes. Among the chiefs participating were, King Custaloga, Captain White Eyes, and Captain Pipe of the Delawares; Captain Pluggy and Big Apple Tree of the Mohawks; many speeches were made as reported in the American Archives; the Six Nations had sent representatives to the Ohio Shawnees in the endeavor to bring about a peace understanding and prevent the impending war between the Cornstalk Confederacy and the Virginians, but the efforts were in vain and Dunmore embarking from Pittsburg with some seven hundred men descended the Ohio in boats to Wheeling, whence the whole army, thirteen hundred strong, one hundred additional men having been received at Wheeling, in a flotilla of a hundred canoes, besides keel boats and pirogues, with George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton and Simon Girty, as scouts and guides, moved down the river to the mouth of the Hockhocking River; a river so-called because signifying a bottle; the Shawnees have it, Wea-tha-kagh-qua-sepe, meaning "bottle river;" a further explanation is made by a writer in

the American Pioneer (1842) who states it was learned from Big Cat, a Delaware Indian, that Hock-hock-ing signifies in the Indian tongue, a *bottle* or jug, or a gourd canteen, or any such vessel used for holding liquids, but properly a bottle. About six or seven miles northwest of Lancaster, there is a fall in the Hockhocking of about twenty feet; above the fall, for a short distance, the creek is very narrow and straight, forming a neck, while at the falls it suddenly widens on each side and swells into the appearance of the body of a bottle. The whole, when seen from above, appears exactly in the shape of a bottle with a long, narrow neck, from which the water gushes; and from this fact the Indians called the creek Hockhocking—or nearer to the Indian pronunciation, "Hockin-Hockin."

At this point—mouth of the Hockhocking—present site of Hockingport, a stockade was built, called Fort Gower, after Earl Gower, a personal friend of Dunmore in the British House of Lords. Dunmore left a garrison of one hundred men to care for Fort Gower and on October 11th, with White Eyes, the Delaware chief as an extra guide, resumed the line of march up the Hockhocking Valley, which he followed by way of the present town of Athens, thence to where the town of Logan now stands; from this point he struck a little south of west to the Pickaway Plains. It was now the middle of October and meantime events of intense interest and greatest import were transpiring in the Kanawha Valley of Virginia.

We revert to the other division of Dunmore's army, the left wing or southern division under Colonel

Andrew Lewis. This contingent was concentrated at "Camp Union," so designated because the troops were there to be united; it was on the Savannah or Big Levels about seven miles from White Sulphur Springs, on the site of the present town of Lewisburg, Greenbrier County.

Andrew Lewis was well chosen for the part he was destined to direct in the stirring scenes before him for he was born in Ireland in 1720 and came with his father and brothers to Virginia in 1731. He had the temper and fighting qualities of his race to which was added the severe discipline of frontier life. In 1742 he was appointed captain of militia and ten years later colonel for his county, Augusta. He was with Washington at Fort Necessity, where he was wounded; we have already met him upon the disastrous Sandy Creek expedition (1756); he was also in Forbes army, in the Duquesne campaign and rendered conspicuous service for the British in the French and Indian War. He was appointed by the governor, commissioner to represent Virginia at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and acted in a similar capacity at the Treaty of Lochaber with the Cherokees. Washington, who knew Lewis well, had the highest regard for his military talent, his sterling character and unflinching courage.

Promptly on receiving orders from Dunmore, Colonel Lewis set in motion the activities for volunteer enlistments. Speedily the companies began to report at Camp Union, the place of rendezvous. These mountaineer militiamen little reckoned what an historic experience was to be theirs. Every man was enrolling his name on a never to be forgotten scroll. From the

valleys, hillsides and forest depths of the counties of Augusta, Botetourt and Fincastle there came the backwoods heroes, truly, says Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, "this army was the most remarkable body of men that had ever assembled on the American frontier." The Augusta County regiment was commanded by Colonel Charles Lewis, younger brother of General Andrew Lewis; this regiment numbering some four hundred, consisted of eleven companies, among the captains of which was John Lewis, son of Thomas Lewis, nephew of General Andrew and of Colonel Charles Lewis; the Botetourt regiment numbered four hundred and fifty men, under Colonel William Fleming, divided into eight companies, one being captained by John Stuart, whose "Narrative" of this campaign, written many years later, is one of the classic authorities relating to the subject; the Fincastle battalion, numbering three hundred and fifty men, was led by Colonel William Christian; in addition there were four independent companies, aggregating one hundred and fifty men, known respectively as the Culpepper Minute men, under Colonel John Field; the Dunmore County Volunteers, Captain Thomas Slaughter; the Bedford County Riflemen, Captain Thomas Buford and the Kentucky Pioneers, Captain James Harrod.

It was a motley gathering, that, on the Levels of Greenbrier in those August days. They were not the King's regulars, nor trained troops; they were not knights in burnished steel on prancing steeds; they were not cavaliers' sons from baronial halls; they were not drilled martinets; they were, however, determined, dauntless men, sturdy and weather-beaten as the

mountain sides whence they came. Among these backwoods braves were many who had accompanied Bouquet in his march to the Ohio towns; some had been with Washington in his discomfiture at Fort Necessity; some with Braddock in the Monongahela defeat; some with Forbes at the victory of Fort Duquesne; and still others with McDonald in the Wakatomica campaign. Roosevelt remarks "it may be doubted if a braver or physically finer set of men ever will get together on this continent," Virgil Lewis says "this army was not uniformed as such; a few of the officers on Colonial establishment, wore the regular military uniform, but far the greater number wore the individual costume of the Border; they were clad in the hunting-shirt with leather leggings; breeches of domestic make; and caps made from the skins of wild animals or knit from wool; each carried the long flint-lock rifle, or English muskets, with bullet pouches and quaintly carved powder horns, with tomahawks and butcher knife." They were undrilled in the arts of scientific warfare but were in physical power and patient endurance, unsurpassed, for they had been reared amid the open freedom and hardihood of backwood's life. Every man in one company of the Augusta troops was said to measure above six feet in his moccasins.

It was on September 8th, the cattle being corralled, the pack-horses laden, that the advance companies fell into line and began the march of over one hundred miles to the juncture of the Elk River with the Kanawha,—or New River as it was also called—present site of Charleston, W. Va. It was a tedious push of two weeks time through forests, over rugged improvised

roads, along streams and up and down steep elevations. They marched in long files through the "deep and gloomy wood," with scouts thrown out in front or on the flanks, to guard against surprise from Indians, who lurked throughout the woods, while axemen went in advance to clear a roadway over which they could drive the beef cattle and the pack-horses.

On the 21st, September, Colonel Fleming wrote in his daily account that they passed the "divide," when the valley began "to widen, the tulip, pawpaw, with leather wood and pea-vine and buffalo grass made their appearance, then appeared the sweet gum; and then the Great Kanawha, two hundred yards wide, made its appearance." Here they halted and built dug-out canoes or pirogues for the baggage transportation upon the river, sixty miles to the Kanawha point. A portion of the army proceeded down along the banks of the Kanawha, while another section filed through the Indian trail, which followed the base of the hills, instead of the river bank, as it was thus easier to cross the heads of creeks and ravines.

On October 6th, their long and weary tramp was ended and the foot-sore troops of this quaint army—all except the contingent under Colonel Christian, which was delayed at the start and arrived later—encamped on Point Pleasant, the high triangular nose of land, jutting out on the north side of the Kanawha, where it empties into the Ohio. It was indeed a Point Pleasant; Mr. Virgil Lewis, in his History of West Virginia, portrays it with an artist's pen: "The site upon which the Virginia army encamped was one of awe-inspiring grandeur. Here were seen hills, valleys,

plains and promontories, all covered with gigantic forests, the growth of centuries, standing in their native majesty unsubdued by the hand of man, wearing the livery of the season, and raising aloft in mid-air their venerable trunks and branches, as if to defy the lightning of the sky and the fury of the whirlwind. The broad reach of the Ohio closely resembled a lake with the mouth of the Kanawha as an arm or estuary, and both were, at that season of the year, so placid as scarcely to present motion to the eye. Over all, nature reigned supreme. There were no marks of industry, nor of the exercise of those arts which minister to the comforts and conveniences of man. Here nature had for ages held undisputed sway over an empire inhabited only by the enemies of civilization."

This was the point at which General Lewis expected to meet the division of Dunmore but he was keenly disappointed. Dunmore, as we have seen, was far away in the Ohio interior, he had changed his plans of operation. On the 9th, October, messengers, one of whom was Simon Girty, and the other Simon Kenton, arrived at Lewis's camp bringing the message from Lord Dunmore that bade Lewis cross the Ohio and from Fort Gower march directly to the Pickaway Plains and there join the army of his Lordship. General Lewis, deeply displeased at this change in the plans of campaign, arranged to break camp that he might set out the next day for the Plains, in accordance with the orders of his superior. But the unexpected happened.

We have followed Lord Dunmore to his entrance upon the Scioto Plains; we have encamped with

General Lewis at the mouth of the Kanawha, without hindrance or interruption from the Indians, the objects of these warlike demonstrations. But the tribesmen, Argus-eyed and alert, were neither indifferent nor idle. The expedition of McDonald to Wakatomica had given them assurance of the hostile and aggressive intentions of the Virginians. They were well informed as to the vast preparations of Dunmore to invade their Ohio centers, and when, if not before, the columns of the armed pioneers began to move, Cornstalk, commander in chief of the Confederacy, gathered his braves, animated by rage and resentment, to meet the advancing foe. It is claimed that the great chief, realizing the danger of resistance, and the superiority of numbers to be encountered, at first counselled peace rather than war, but the subordinate chiefs and the tribesmen, goaded on by the recent depredations, by the whites, upon their land and the late massacres of numbers of their tribes, were aroused to the greatest warlike ferocity.

Cornstalk summoned the braves from the tribes of the Ohio Confederacy; they were the chosen warriors of the Shawnee, Delaware, Ottawa, Wyandot, Cayuga, Miami, Mingo, and other tribes. Cornstalk's own people, the fierce Shawnees, were the most numerous and his mainstay; he was aided by some of the most famous and most skilled war leaders of his race; Elenipsico, Cornstalk's son; Red Hawk, the Delaware chief; Scrappathus, the Mingo; Chiywee, the Wyandot; the Shawnees Black Hoof, Red Eagle, Blue Jacket, Packishenoah, the father of Tecumseh and the latter's son Cheeskau, elder brother of Tecumseh.

The force of Cornstalk numbered some twelve hundred in number, practically man for man as to the army of Lewis. Every movement of each army, that of Dunmore and that of Lewis, had been stealthily watched by Cornstalk's scouts, "from the peaks of the Alleghanies, and the highlands along the Great Kanawha," and tidings of the advance of Dunmore to the Pickaway Plains and the march of Lewis to Point Pleasant promptly reached the council house of Cornstalk, in the valley of the Scioto. The king-chief had the craft of his race and the tact of a Napoleon. He saw the army of his enemy divided; Lewis is at Kanawha, Dunmore approaching the Scioto. If Lewis's division could be surprised and overwhelmed, the defeat of Dunmore would easily follow.

So Cornstalk, "mighty in battle and swift to carry out what he had planned, led his long file of warriors with noiseless speed, through leagues of tractless woodlands to the banks of the Ohio." All day long that Sunday—October ninth—with catlike tread, the war painted savages moved toward the Ohio, and after sundown, halted in the dense forest in the valley of Campaign Creek, now the present site of Addison, Gallia County, Ohio. Here some eighty rafts had been previously prepared, others were quickly improvised and under cover of night, without a breath of noise, the hundreds of warriors began crossing the river and before morning all had been ferried to the southern bank at the location of "Old Shawnee Town," an old settlement of the Shawnees, distant about three miles above Point Pleasant. The path from their place of landing to Lewis' camp lay through a wild jungle of

thick underbrush, fallen trees and dense forest, which under darkness of night concealed the snakelike advance of their columns. Before break of day they rested almost in sight of the enemy's camp and prepared for the attack. That same Sunday night that Cornstalk crossed the Ohio and that Girty bore the message of Dunmore to Lewis, the outposts of the latter reported that there were no Indians within fifteen miles of the Point Pleasant encampment. The Virginians slept in supposed peaceful security.

Early on the morning of the tenth, before the sun had peeped over the Virginia hills, two soldiers—some say, James Robinson and Valentine Sevier, or, others say, Joseph Hughey and James Mooney, perhaps the four—left the camp of Lewis and crept up the Ohio River bank in quest of game. When they had proceeded about two miles they unexpectedly came in sight of the Indian force moving rapidly into position for the advance. The discovered savages fired upon the hunters, who fled back to communicate the intelligence that they had seen a "body of the enemy covering four acres of ground as closely as they could stand by the side of each other."

General Lewis received the news like the well seasoned Indian fighter that he was and lighting a pipe, it is reported, coolly ordered the troops in battle array and in the gray of early dawn, they hastily unrolled from the blankets that had wrapped them for the night and sprang into line.

Colonel Charles Lewis with several companies was directed to move toward the right in the direction of Crooked Creek. Colonel Fleming, with other com-

panies, was instructed to proceed to the left up the Ohio. Lewis's force met the left of Cornstalk's column about half a mile from the Virginians' camp. Fleming's command found the Indian right flank at a greater distance up the Ohio Bank. Cornstalk's line of advance was more than a mile in front stretch, so drawn as to cut diagonally across the river point. By this tactic he had calculated upon pocketing General Lewis on the corner of the bluff between the Ohio and the Kanawha. The first shock of the onslaught was favorable of the foe. Colonel Charles Lewis made a gallant advance that was met by a furious response. The colonel was mortally wounded at almost the first fire of the enemy. He calmly marched back to the camp and died. His men, many of whom were killed, unable to withstand the superior numbers of the Indians at this point, began to waver and fall back. Colonel Fleming was equally hard pressed in his encounter. He received two balls through his left arm and one through his breast; urging his men on to victorious action he retired to the camp, the main portion of his line giving way.

General Lewis now began to fortify his position by felling timber and forming a breastwork before his camp. The fight was soon general, and extended the full front of the opposing armies. What a strange and awful scene was presented; one of mingled picturesque beauty and ghastly carnage on that October Monday morning. A host of forest savages, "a thousand painted and plumed warriors, the pick of the young men of the western tribes, the most daring braves between the Ohio and the great lakes" their brown

athletic and agile bodies decked in the gay and rich trappings of war; their raven black hair tossed like netted manes in the fray as with glowering eyes and tense muscles they leaped through the brush and stood face to face with the white foe, the latter rigid with firm resolution and unwincing courage, fighters typical of the frontier; a primitive army equal in numbers to their assailants, heroes in homespun, and backwoodsmen in buckskin, clothed in fringed leather hunting shirts and coarse woolen leggings of every color; they wore skin and fur caps, and slung over their shoulders were the straps of the shot-bag and the strings of the powder horn. Each, like his barbaric antagonist, carried his flint lock, his tomahawk and his gleaming scalp-knife. For that tragic tableau, quaint and dramatic, nature never made a more magnificent or peaceful setting. The hostile lines grappled in deadly conflict on the peak of land elevated by precipitate banks high above the Ohio, which swept by in majestic width, joined by the Kanawha that noiselessly crept its way amid a forest and hill-framed valley. The Ohio heights fretted the sky to the west, and the Virginia Mountains in the near eastern background were resplendent in the gorgeous drapery of early autumn. It was a landscape upon which nature had lavished her most luxuriant charms. It was a picture for the painter and the poet rather than the cold chronicler of history. No event in American annals surpasses this in the mingling of natural beauty and human violence. The brutal savage and the implacable Anglo-Saxon were to exchange lives by gory combat in the irrepressible conflict between their races.

It was nearly noon and the action was "extremely hot," says a participant. The Indians, who had pushed within the right line of the Virginians, were gradually forced to give way; the dense underwood, many steep banks and fallen timber favored their gradual retreat. They were stubbornly but slowly yielding their ground, concealing their losses as best they could by throwing their dead in the Ohio, and carrying off their wounded. The incessant rattle of the rifles; the shouts of the Virginians, and the war whoops of the redmen made the woods resound with the "blast of war." The groans of the wounded and the moans of the dying added sad cadence to the clash of arms. At intervals, amid the din, Cornstalk's stentorian voice could be heard as in his native tongue he shouted cheer and courage to his faltering men, and bade them "be strong, be strong." But their desperate effort did not avail, though exerted to the utmost.

No more bitter or fierce contest in Indian warfare is recorded. The hostile lines though a mile and a quarter in length were so close together, being at no point more than twenty yards apart, that many of the combatants grappled in hand-to-hand fighting, and tomahawked or stabbed each other to death. The battle was a succession of single combats, each man sheltering himself behind a stump or rock, or tree-trunk. The superiority of the backwoodsmen in the use of rifles—they were dead shots, those Virginia mountaineers—was offset by the agility of the Indians in the art of hiding and dodging from harm. After noon the action in a small degree abated. The slow retreat of the Indians gave them an advantageous resting spot from

whence it appeared difficult to dislodge them. They sustained an "equal weight of action from wing to wing."

Seeing the unremitting obstinacy of the foe, and fearing the final result if they were not beaten before night, General Lewis, late in the afternoon, directed Captains Shelby, Mathews and Stuart with their companies to steal their way under cover of the thick and high growth of weeds and bushes up the bank of the Kanawha and along the edge of Crooked Creek until they should get behind the flank of the enemy, when they were to emerge from their covert, move downward towards the river point, and attack the Indians from the rear.

The strategic maneuver thus planned was promptly and adroitly executed and turned the tide in favor of the colonial soldiers. The Indians finding themselves suddenly and unexpectedly encompassed between two armies and believing that the force appearing in the rear was the rëinforcement from Colonel Christian's delayed troops, they were discouraged and dismayed, and began to give way. The appearance of troops in the rear of the Indians at once prevented the continuance of Cornstalk's scheme of fighting, namely, that of alternately attacking and retreating, particularly with his center, thus often exposing the advancing front of the Virginians to the mercy of the Indian flanks. The skirmishing continued during the afternoon, the Indians, though at bay, making a show at bravado. But their strength was spent, and at the close of the day under the veil of darkness they noiselessly and precipitately retreated across the Ohio and started for the Scioto towns.

The battle of Point Pleasant was won. "Such a battle with the Indians, it is imagined, was never heard of before," says the writer of a letter printed in the government reports. But the day was dearly bought. The Americans lost a fifth of their number, some seventy-five being killed or fatally wounded, and one hundred and forty-seven severely or slightly wounded. Among the slain were some of the bravest Virginian officers, including Colonel Charles Lewis, Major John Field, Captains John Murray, James Ward, Samuel Wilson, and Robert McClannahan; and Lieutenants Hugh Allen and Jonathan Cundiff. The Indian loss was never definitely known for they cunningly carried off or concealed most of their killed, and secretly cared for their wounded. They lost probably only half as many as the whites. About forty warriors were known to be killed outright, or to have died of their wounds. Of the number of wounded no estimate could be made. Kercheval, the Virginian historian, who wrote his account of the battle from the reports of participants, puts the Indian loss in killed and wounded at three hundred, which is probably too great. While the Virginians lost many officers, strangely enough among the Indians no chief of importance was slain, except Packinshenoah or Pukeesheno, the Shawnee chief, and father of Tecumseh. No "official report" of this battle was made, or if so, probably not preserved.

The battle of Point Pleasant was the most extensive, the most bitterly contested, and fought with the most potent results of any Indian battle in American history. At the time it occurred it aroused world-wide interest. Not only English papers in the mother country but

French and German newspapers on the continent published extended articles descriptive of the battle. It was purely a frontier encounter. The whites were Virginia Volunteers. The savages, the picked fighters of their tribes, led by their greatest warriors, were unaided by even a single white man. The significance of the battle was many fold and far-reaching. It was the last battle fought by the colonists while subjects under British rule.

The present writer in a monograph, published some ten years ago, assented to the claim that this was the first battle of the American Revolution, a claim that has led to much dispute and discussion. Our grounds for that view were that in this frontier contest the Virginians were fighting against the Indians, not merely from retaliatory motives, but in defiance of the Quebec Act, for they were proposing to invade the British royal domain—the Ohio country—then part of the province of Quebec, and attack the Ohio Indians who were the protected wards of England and consequently allies of Parliamentary power. Moreover did not the Virginians have for their ulterior result the privilege of settling across the Ohio in a territory they claimed to be part of their colony? In brief were they not as Virginians contending for colonial rights against the mother country? The unjust and usurping features of the Quebec Act were cause for one of the clauses of the Declaration of Independence. It is claimed, on the other hand, by many distinguished authorities that Dunmore, perhaps with, perhaps without, the connivance of the British powers, seeing the possible outbreak of the Revolution, concocted this campaign in

order to lead the Virginians into the horrors of an Indian warfare in order that the colonists might awake to the fact that in case of a rebellion they would have to meet the savage hordes of the Northwest, and such a contingency was calculated to deter them from taking steps toward independence.

The literature on this subject is extensive and confusing. One side is represented by Brantz Mayer in his volume on Logan and Cresap, wherein he says: "It was probably Lord Dunmore's desire to incite a war which would arouse and band the savages of the west, so that in the anticipated struggle with the united colonies the British home-interest might ultimately avail itself of these children of the forest as ferocious and formidable allies in the onslaught on the Americans." To this Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," replies: "The war was of the greatest advantage to the American cause; for it kept the northwestern Indians off our hands for the first two years of the Revolutionary struggle; and had Lord Dunmore been the farseeing and malignant that this theory supposes, it would have been impossible for him not also to foresee that such a result was absolutely inevitable. There is no reason whatever to suppose that he was not doing his best for the Virginians; he deserved their gratitude; and he got it for the time being. The accusations of treachery against him were afterthoughts, and must be set down to mere vulgar rancor, unless, at least, some faint shadow of proof is advanced."

To our mind Roosevelt states the better argument; the Janus-face theory concerning Dunmore, in the light of all surrounding circumstances, appears ridicu-

lous and puerile. Lord Dunmore may have been capable of duplicity, but he was not a simpleton. Whatever the understanding may have been between Lord Dunmore and the royal authorities, or between the Indians and the British powers, or whether there was any explicit understanding at all, in either case, that battle represented the initial bloodshed between the allies of the British and the colonial dependents. Had Cornstalk been the conqueror in that battle, the whole course of subsequent American history might have been different. It is difficult to believe that the colonists would have been stunned to inaction by the blow of defeat at Point Pleasant and the further fear of an extended and horrible warfare on their western borders, but in the event of Cornstalk's success it is more than likely that the Ohio northwest country would have remained the great western province of the British power and the United States would have been restricted to the domain east of the Alleghanies. Such is the view of Hinsdale in the "Old Northwest" and Roosevelt in the "Winning of the West."

"This battle," says Colonel John Stuart, in his historical memoir, "was, in fact, the beginning of the revolutionary war, that obtained for our country the liberty and independence enjoyed by the United States—and a good presage of future success; for it is well known that the Indians were influenced by the British to commence the war to terrify and confound the people, before they commenced hostilities themselves the following year at Lexington. It was thought by British politicians, that to excite an Indian war would prevent a combination of the colonies for opposing parliamen-

tary measures to tax the Americans. The blood, therefore, spilt upon this memorable battlefield, will long be remembered by the good people of Virginia and the United States with gratitude."

Virgil A. Lewis, says in his History of West Virginia, "To the student of history no truth is more patent than this, that the battle of Point Pleasant was the first in the series of the Revolution, the flames of which were then being kindled by the oppression of the mother country, and the resistance of the same by the feeble but determined colonies. It is a well known fact that emissaries of Great Britain were then inciting the Indians to hostilities against the frontier for the purpose of distracting attention and thus preventing the consummation of the union which was then being formed to resist the tyranny of their armed oppressors. It is also well known that Lord Dunmore was an enemy to the colonists, by his rigid adherence to the royal cause and his efforts to induce the Indians to coöperate with the English, and thus assist in reducing Virginia to subjection. It has been asserted that he intentionally delayed the progress of the left wing of the army that the right might be destroyed at Point Pleasant. Then, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, on the 10th day of October, 1774, there went whizzing through the forest the first volley of a struggle for liberty which, in the grandeur and importance of its results, stands without a parallel in the history of the world. On that day the soil on which Point Pleasant now stands drank the first blood, shed in defence of American liberty, and it was there decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not

prevail in America, but that just laws and priceless liberty should be planted forever in the domains of the New World. Historians, becoming engrossed with the more stirring scenes of the Revolution, have failed to consider this sanguinary battle in its true import and bearing upon the destiny of our country, forgetting that the colonial army returned home only to enlist in the patriot army, and on almost every battlefield of the Revolution represented that little band who stood face to face with the savage allies of Great Britain at Point Pleasant."

And finally we cite Mr. Bancroft, who in his History of the United States, speaking of the victory won at the battle of Point Pleasant, thus remarks: "The results inured exclusively to the benefit of America. The Indians desired peace; the rancor of the white people changed to confidence. The royal Governor of Virginia and the Virginian army in the valley of the Scioto nullified the act of Parliament which extended the province of Quebec to the Ohio, and in the name of the King of Great Britain triumphantly maintained for Virginia the western and northwestern jurisdiction which she claimed as her chartered right."

The fate of the Northwest Territory was at stake in that battle though no British soldier participated therein. Surely America has no more historic soil than the ground of the Kanawha and Ohio point—reddened that October day by the blood of savage warriors and frontier woodsmen. The battle of Point Pleasant, as might easily be imagined, inspired many a poetic mind and several rhyming accounts of the event were produced, some by poetasters who partici-

pated in the contest; as a sample we give a few stanzas from one preserved in the Draper manuscripts:

Brave Lewis our Colonel, an officer bold,
At the mouth of Kanawha did the Shawnees behold.
On the tenth of October, at the rising sun
The armies did meet and the battle begun.

One thousand, one hundred we had on Ohio,
Two thirds of this number to the battle did go,
The Shawnees nine hundred, some say many more,
We formed our battle on the Ohio shore.

Like thunder from heaven our rifles did roar,
Till twelve of the clock, or perhaps something more,
And during this time the Shawnees did fly,
Whilst many a brave man on the ground there did lie.

From twelve until sunset some shots there did fly,
By this kind of fighting great numbers did die,
But night coming on, the poor Shawnees did yield,
Being no longer able to maintain the field.

Forty brave men on the ground there did lie,
Besides forty more of our wounded did die,
Killed and wounded on the Ohio shore,
Was one hundred and forty and perhaps something more.

What the Shawnees did lose we never did hear,
The bodies of twenty did only appear,
Into the Ohio the rest they did throw,
The just number of which we never did know.

Cornstalk's warriors, dejected over the signal success of the "Long Knives," began their retreat, the long, wearisome march of eighty miles, through the lonely wilderness to their towns on the Pickaway Plains. There the conquered but unsubdued chief called a council of his people to consult on what was to be done. He upbraided the other chiefs for their folly in not accepting his previous advice to make peace and avoid

THE PICKAWAY PLAINS

Map of the Darby and Pickaway Plains, scene of Dunmore's encampment; the "Reconciliation" treaty; site of Logan's home, Cornstalk's Town and the Grenadier Squaw's Town, and present City of Circleville.

Brave Lewis our Colonel, an officer bold,
On the tenth of October, at the rising sun
The armies did meet and the battle begun.

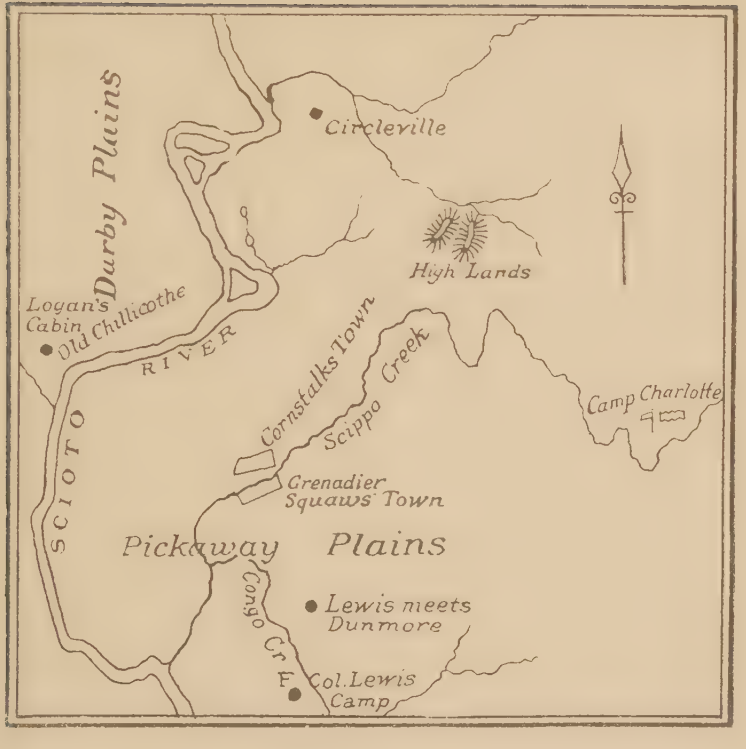
One thousand, one hundred we had on Ohio,
Two thirds of this number to the battle did go,
The Shawnees nine hundred, some say many more,
We formed our battle on the Ohio shore.

Like thunder from heaven our rifles did roar,
And during this time the Shawnees did fly,

From twelve until sunset some shots there did fly,
By this kind of fighting great numbers did die,
But night coming on, the poor Shawnees did yield,
Being no longer able to maintain the field.

Forty brave men on the ground there did lie,
Besides forty more of our wounded did die,
Killed and wounded on the Ohio shore,

What the Shawnees did lose we never did hear,
The bodies of twenty did only appear,
Into the Ohio the rest they did throw,
The just number of which we never did know.


Circleville
Darby Plains
High Lands
Logan's Cabin
Old Chillicothe
RIVER
SCIOTO
Cornstalks Town
Scippo Creek
Camp Charlotte
Grenadier Squaws' Town
Pickaway Plains
Congo Cr
Lewis meets Dunmore
F
Col. Lewis Camp

a war. They were now at the mercy of the Virginians who under Dunmore were rapidly approaching the Indian capital, and ere many days Lewis would also arrive from the south. "What," said the desperate chief, "will you do now? We must fight or we are destroyed." But the braves, lately so fierce for war, remained silent, their wisdom was at an end. Cornstalk then said "let us kill all our women and children and go and fight till we die." But still none would answer. Then the chief arose and striking his tomahawk in the post in the center of the council house, exclaimed: "I'll go and make peace," and the warriors all grunted "ough, ough, ough," their form of assent.

Runners were instantly dispatched to Dunmore's army to solicit a parley and bring about a cessation of hostilities. The envoys of peace, several Indians, accompanied by Mathew Elliott, a white man, bearing a flag of truce, met the advance soldiers of Dunmore when the latter was within fifteen miles of the Shawnee towns. Cornstalk's embassy requested the assistance of an interpreter and an audience with Lord Dunmore. Captain John Gibson, was appointed as interpreter and received the message from Cornstalk's runners that peace was desired. Lord Dunmore, however, continued his advance to the Shawnee towns and on October 17 (1774) encamped on the Plains, in what is now Pickaway Township, Pickaway County. This camp, named "Charlotte," after Lord Dunmore's wife, or as some state after the wife of George III., who was also a Charlotte, was located on the north bank of Scippo Creek, a few miles from Cornstalk's town, the Shawnee capital.

In his headquarters in Camp Charlotte, Dunmore (on October 19th), gave audience to the Indian embassy. It was an occasion of imposing importance. Major John Connolly acted as secretary; John Gibson and Thomas Nicholson as interpreters. It was indeed as Mr. Lewis says, "a great day away out in that western wilderness, white and red men met to consummate a treaty of peace, after a march of two thousand four hundred men from the heart of Virginia to the center of the then known American wilderness."

The officers gathered about Lord Dunmore while the Indian leaders acted as a retinue to the conquered Cornstalk. In all the dignity and passion of his race, in the simple but picturesque language of the savage, he recited the sufferings of his people, the wrongs done his tribesmen, and plead for peace. Captain Benjamin Wilson, who was present at this council, as one of Dunmore's officers, wrote of Cornstalk, "when he arose, he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a direct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition and with peculiar emphasis. His looks, while addressing Dunmore, were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the first orators in Virginia—Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee—but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk."

Chapter V.

LOGAN'S SPEECH

THE day following the hearing of the Indian envoys Lord Dunmore submitted to the reassembled council what he called "The terms of our reconciliation;" to which the Cornstalk confederacy agreed. Those terms were in substance: the Indians were to restore, without reserve, all white prisoners in their possession; never again to wage war against the Virginia frontier; pay for all property of the whites destroyed by the Indians and return all horses and other property still retained, taken from the whites; no more to molest the boats of the whites, descending or ascending the Ohio River; nor hunt nor visit, except for trading purposes, in the territory south of the Ohio; to give hostages as guaranty for fulfilling above agreements; Governor Dunmore agreed that no white people should be permitted to hunt on the northern or Indian side of the Ohio River. Cornstalk could do no other than haughtily accede to the terms required by the Virginians.

But there was one brave distinguished in Indian affairs, conspicuous for his absence from that treaty meeting. He had sworn implacable enmity against the whites and had taken—in accordance with his vow—no less than thirty scalps from the pale face pioneers. His hostility must be appeased. It was Tah-gah-jute, the Mingo known as Chief Logan, though his chieftaincy, so far as the Mingoes were concerned, was nominal rather than real. He was not in the battle of Point Pleasant, though many authorities assert that he was, especially John Clark Ridpath in his popular History of the United States, in which the author erroneously says: "Logan had fought

bravely and taken many scalps at Point Pleasant." The evidence is conclusive that Logan was far away from the scene of that battle; he was not even in the army of Cornstalk. Perhaps like Achilles of old, he had sulked in his Mingo quarters,—on or near the Scioto—contemplating the entire proceedings with scorn and disdain. "His fellows, when questioned about his absence, answered that he was like a mad dog, whose bristles were still up; and when he was entreated to be present, he responded that he was a warrior and not a councillor, and would not come." But his influence with his people made it important that his concurrence be secured. His cabin, where at this time he resided, quite isolated from most of his Mingo tribe, was four or five miles from Dunmore's camp. The governor sent John Gibson, whose squaw, murdered at Baker's—as before stated— was the sister of the Mingo chief, to urge the attendence of Logan.

There is much controversy over the events that immediately ensued. According to Brantz Mayer, a partisan defender of Captain Michael Cresap, in his history of the latter, says, "Gibson found Logan some miles off at a hut with several Indians; and, pretending, in the Indian fashion, that he had nothing in view, talked and drank with them until the savage touched his coat stealthily, and, beckoning him out of the house, led him out into a solitary thicket, where sitting down on a log, he burst into tears and uttered some sentences of impassioned eloquence, which Gibson, immediately returning to the British camp, committed to paper. As soon as the envoy had reduced the message to writing, it was read aloud in the council; heard by the

soldiers; and proved to be neither a speech, a message, nor a pledge of peace." Mayer continues: "Thus the speech of Logan, which has been so long celebrated as the finest specimen of Indian eloquence, dwindles into a reported conversation with, or outburst from, a blood-stained savage; excited perhaps, when he delivered it, as well by the cruelties he had committed as by liquor; false in its allegations as to Cresap; and, at least, after being conveyed to camp, six miles distant, in the memory of Gibson, written down, and read by proxy to the council of Lord Dunmore."

Logan spoke English but could not write it; Gibson was versed in the Indian tongue and made an English transcription of the speech, unquestionably preserving its spirit and form in a most successful degree. In the year 1781, Thomas Jefferson wrote his "Notes on the State of Virginia." They were corrected and enlarged in the following year, and published in 1787. In these "Notes" Mr. Jefferson describes the characteristics and customs of the American Indian, and says: "hence eloquence in council, bravery and address in war, became the foundation of all conquest with them. To these acquirements all their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory, we have fewer examples, because displayed chiefly in their own councils. Some, however, we have of very superior lustre. I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished any more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of

Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore, when governor of this state." Then, after stating the circumstances under which it was delivered and sent by messenger to Dunmore, Jefferson quotes the speech: "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as I passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but don't harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Some years after the publication of the "Notes" containing the speech, Mr. Jefferson was charged in public prints by Luther Martin with having forged or "manufactured" this address of Logan or at least the part of it in which the Mingo chief attributed the murder of his family to Michael Cresap. Luther Martin was a brilliant lawyer and orator; attorney-general of Maryland (1778); an ardent Federalist and political opponent of Jefferson; he had married the

daughter, Mary, of Michael Cresap. As is fully set forth in "The Olden Time" magazine, edited by Neville Craig, Martin in 1797 wrote a public letter to an elocutionist, who had recited Logan's speech, in which letter Martin defended Michael Cresap as to the charge that he killed Logan's family and accused Jefferson of fictitiously creating the speech, saying: "I am convinced the charge exhibited by him [Jefferson] against Colonel Cresap is not founded in truth; and also, that no such specimen of Indian oratory was ever exhibited."

Mr. Jefferson tartly replied to these charges in an open letter to Governor Henry of Maryland, written in December, 1797, and published in an appendix to his "Notes" in the edition of 1801. Mr. Jefferson, in the letter, states that he published the Logan speech as he [Jefferson] had heard it related at Lord Dunmore's, by the latter and his officers, after their return to Williamsburg and as it was "circulated in the newspapers through all the then colonies, through the magazines of Great Britain and periodical publications of Europe," adding "and I find in my pocketbook of that year (1774) an entry of the narrative as taken from the mouth of some person, whose name, however, is not noted, nor recollected, precisely in the words stated in the 'Notes on Virginia;' the speech was published in the Virginia Gazette of that time, (I have it myself in the volume of Gazettes of that year) and though in a style by no means elegant, yet it was so admired, that it flew through all the public papers of the continent."

Mr. Henry S. Randall who wrote an exhaustive and most faithful biography of Jefferson, verifies the latter's testimony concerning his authority for the Logan speech, even to the finding of Jefferson's "pocket-book" (of 1774) containing the copy taken down at the time. Mr. Jefferson accompanies his appendix letter to Governor Henry with affidavits concerning the speech. These affidavits which we have previously quoted in connection with Cresap's alleged guilt, prove unquestionably that Michael Cresap did not participate in the murder of Logan's relatives, but that Logan thought Cresap was guilty and so charged in his speech, which was reproduced by Jefferson as it came from Dunmore's report, and this version has been the accepted one in historical literature. In addition to that of Jefferson there are two other versions, immaterially differing, preserved; one of these, taken from a letter written at Williamsburg, February 4, 1775 found its way into the American Archives; another, also extracted from a Virginia letter and later appearing in the Archives, was published in New York, February 16, 1775.

There is another account of the circumstances under which the speech was conveyed to Dunmore. This is the testimony made and signed by Benjamin Tomlinson, on April 17, 1797. Tomlinson was present at the Dunmore treaty proceedings and later testified: "Logan was not at the treaty, perhaps Cornstalk, the chief of the Shawnee nation, mentioned, among other grievances, the Indians killed on Yellow Creek; but I believe neither Cresap nor any other person, were named as the perpetrators; and I perfectly recollect, that I was that day officer of the guard, and stood near Dunmore's

person, that consequently I saw and heard all that passed; that also two or three days before the treaty, when I was on the out-guard, Simon Girty who was passing by, stopped with me and conversed—he said he was going after Logan, but he did not like his business, for he [Logan] was a surly fellow—he however, proceeded on, and I saw him return on the day of the treaty, and Logan was not with him; at this time a circle was formed and the treaty begun, I saw John Gibson on Girty's arrival, get up and go out of the circle and talk with Girty after which he [Gibson] went into a tent, and soon after returning into the circle, drew out of his pocket a piece of clean new paper, on which was written in his own handwriting—a speech for and in the name of Logan. This I heard read three times, once by Gibson, and twice by Dunmore; the purport of which was, that he [Logan] was the white man's friend, that on a journey to Pittsburg to brighten this friendship, or on his return from thence, all his friends were killed at Yellow Creek, that now when he died who should bury him, for the blood of Logan was running in no creature's veins;—but neither was the name of Cresap, or the name of any other person mentioned in this speech. But I recollect to see Dunmore put this speech among the other treaty papers."

George Rogers Clark in a letter to Dr. Samuel Brown (1798) narrating the incident of the speech which he heard Gibson and Dunmore read; states, "The army knew it was wrong so far as it respected Cresap and afforded an opportunity of rallying that gentleman on the subject,—I discovered that Cresap was displeased

and told him that he must be a very great man, that the Indians shouldered him with everything that had happened—he smiled and said he had a great mind to tomahawk Greathouse about the matter. What is here related is fact, I was intimate with Cresap, and better acquainted with Logan at that time than with any other Indian in the Western country, and had a knowledge of the conduct of both parties. Logan is the author of the speech as related by Mr. Jefferson, and Cresap's conduct was such as I have related."

Consul W. Butterfield, a most painstaking and usually accurate historian, in his "History of the Girtys," quotes Tomlinson's testimony and then says: "it is now well established that the version as first printed was substantially the words of Logan, but it is equally certain, that he [Logan] in attributing the murder of his relatives to Colonel Cresap, was mistaken. Girty from recollection, translated the speech to Gibson and the latter put it into excellent English, as he was abundantly capable of doing." Roosevelt in his allusion to this controversy, makes the comment, "he [Tomlinson] hints but does not frankly assert, that Gibson was not sent after Logan, but that Girty was;" again, "there is some uncertainty as to whether Logan came up to Gibson at the treaty and drew him aside or whether the latter went to seek him in his wigwam." To this Butterfield very emphatically replies, that Tomlinson's "hint" is about as plain as any frank assertion could be, and that he (Butterfield) is abundantly satisfied that Tomlinson's testimony in this respect is to be relied upon, "Gibson," he says, "was not ambitious to have his name connected with that

of Girty, after it became odious," and it had so become when Tomlinson made his testimony. Butterfield was thoroughly convinced that Logan and Gibson never met at all concerning the speech, but that Logan made it to Girty, who related it to Gibson, who wrote it down and passed it on to Dunmore. But, as Roosevelt points out, Gibson's affidavit was to the effect that he (Gibson) went to Logan and personally received the speech, and "Gibson," says Roosevelt, "was a man of note and of unblemished character and throughout his life he bore a reputation for absolute truthfulness." Gibson's affidavit (April 1800) was to the effect: "that this deponent [Gibson], at the request of Lord Dunmore and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns, Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was sitting with the Corn-Stalk, and the other chiefs of the Shawanese, and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood, where they sat down, when Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on the State of Virginia; that he the deponent told him then that it was not Colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son Capt. Michael Cresap was with the party who killed a Shawanese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's near the mouth of Yellow Creek on the Ohio; that this deponent on his return to camp delivered the speech to Lord Dunmore; and that the murders perpetrated as above, were considered as ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war."

John J. Jacob in his "Life of Captain Michael Cresap," after discussing this episode expresses himself thus: "now, here may it please the court, is a witness [Tomlinson] unimpeached and unimpeachable, and fully competent to bear testimony, who declares first, that Logan was not at this treaty; that the pretended speech was made by Gibson, whose sensibility, perhaps, was a little wounded by the loss of his squaw, who was Logan's sister and unhappily killed at Yellow Creek; nor yet was Cresap's name in the speech," and thus Jacob pertinently asks, "Where shall we look, or where is the man, that can unriddle this mystery?"

Sure enough. We have entered into this discussion at some length because of its historic interest. Many more witnesses might be summoned and innumerable reviewers of the evidence might be heard, for the trial has been going on for over a century. Probably no additional evidence of value can now be secured on either one side or the other. The conclusion is absolute that Logan made the speech and Gibson reported it, practically as published in the American Archives and reported by Jefferson. Few incidents in Ohio annals are more romantic or more worthy of careful preservation in historic annals. Doubtless every reader of these pages has either recited that speech in early youth or heard it spoken to intent auditors, in assumed fervor from the school room rostrum. It certainly has been accorded unprecedented praise by poets and prose writers. Mayer cleverly notes that Logan and his appealing lament was the source whence the English

poet Campbell derived his conception of Outalissi, in "Gertrude of Wyoming," and he has paraphrased, in rhyme, the passionate outburst;

> Gainst Brant himself I went to battle forth:—
> Accursed Brant!—he left of all my tribe
> Nor man, nor child, nor thing of living birth!
> No! not the dog that watched my household hearth
> Escaped that night of death upon our plains!
> All perished—I, alone, am left on earth!
> To whom nor relative, nor blood remains,—
> No! not a kindred drop that runs in human veins!

We have already cited Jefferson's comment upon its place in rhetorical effort. Roosevelt characterizes the speech as one, "which will always retain its place as perhaps the finest outburst of savage eloquence of which we have any authentic record," and Alfred Lee, a most scholarly and discriminating writer, secretary to Governor Hayes and later Consul-General to Germany, in his History of the City of Columbus, commenting on Logan's speech pays this tribute: "Taken in connection with the circumstances, which are said to have inspired it, this is one of the most pathetic deliverances in all literature. In brevity, simplicity and directness of appeal, as well as in the immortality of its thoughts, it bears a striking resemblance to Abraham Lincoln's dedicatory address at Gettysburg."

Chapter VI.

RESULTS OF THE DUNMORE WAR

THE day following the battle of Point Pleasant, the dead were buried in shallow graves and General Lewis began the reorganization of the victorious but depleted forces. Temporary intrenchments were erected and provision made for the care of the disabled. Colonel Fleming, though seriously wounded, was placed in command of the garrison composed of some three hundred men and officers, and on the evening of October 17th, General Lewis crossed the Ohio with about twelve hundred men and encamped on the site of the present town of Kanauga, in Gallia County, Ohio. Thence, with ten days' rations, sixty-one pack horses and one hundred and fifty beeves, the little army, next to that of Dunmore, the most extensive and warlike that had ever appeared on Ohio soil, marched along the Ohio and up the valley of Champaign Creek. On the 22d they reached the banks of Kinnickinnick Creek, in the northeastern portion of Ross County. At this point, within fifteen miles of Dunmore's camp Charlotte, Lewis was met by the Indian chief White Fish, bearing the news that the Virginia governor had made a treaty with the Cornstalk confederacy. Lewis's army however proceeded on to Congo Creek, and on the 23d went into camp to await further developments. Lewis was now within four and one half miles of Dunmore's camp. The general had expected that, either alone before reaching Dunmore or in union with the latter, he would make war upon the Ohio Indians and destroy their Scioto towns. In this expectation the soldiers of Lewis heartily joined as the battle of Point Pleasant had given them a bitter taste of savage warfare and aroused

their vengeance against Cornstalk's tribesmen. In the various published accounts of Lewis's march, it is sometimes stated that Dunmore, learning Lewis was advancing upon the Shawnee towns, sent messages directing Lewis to stop and return to the Ohio but that the victor of Point Pleasant refused to obey and continued to push on with the implacable design of punishing the Indians, proposing particularly to destroy the village of Old Chillicothe, which stood where Westfall now is and which was one of the strongholds of Cornstalk. Indeed some alleged authorities assert that Lewis mistrusted the good faith of Dunmore, suspecting the governor intended no serious injury to the Indians but on the contrary wished to placate them and win their allegiance to the British cause. Indeed it is stated that being unable to stop the march of Lewis, the governor proceeded in person to meet Lewis and reprimand him for his disobedience, going so far in his insulting treatment as to strike the general with the flat side of his sword.

But of all this there is no foundation in fact. To the contrary are many undoubted testimonies. Colonel Fleming in his journal, kept during the campaign, after relating the march of Lewis to the vicinity of Dunmore's camp, says, "the Indians were struck with a dread that we were going to attack their towns, as we by a mistake of the guide had got rather betwixt his Lordship's camp and the towns and much nearer than we imagined. All the Indians with his Lordship, immediately quitted his camp, except White Fish, who with Gibson, a trader, attended his Lordship to our army. My Lord informed us the Shawanise had

agreed to all his terms and that our presence could be of no service but rather a hindrance to the peace being concluded, he ordered the whole to return which we did the next day." This statement of Fleming was written at Point Pleasant, where he remained in charge, from a report made to him by Lewis personally on the latter's return to the scene of battle.

Again Captain John Stuart, the historian, who was present, thus tells of the visit of Lord Dunmore to the camp of General Lewis: "When the governor reached General Lewis's camp his Lordship requested that officer to introduce him to his officers; and we were accordingly ranged in rank and had the honor of an introduction to the Governor and Commander-in-chief who politely thanked us for services rendered on so momentous occasion and assured us of his high esteem and respect for our conduct."

And Colonel William Christian who accompanied Lewis, wrote, in a letter of November 8, 1774: "This day 3 weeks (Oct. 18) our army about 1150 in number marched from the Ohio, and on the Monday evening following we encamped within about 3 miles from A Shawnese Town where their greatest force were assembled. His Lordships Camp was then about 7 miles from us & about 6 miles from the Town. We intended for his Camp but passed the path that took off to our right hand expecting he had encamped nearer the Towns. That day we were met by several expresses from his Lordship, the last one informing us that he had concluded a peace. As we went on further than was expected The Indians who watched every motion of our army, informed the Govr. that we had

not stopt but were pushing strait for their Towns & would be in that day (which we could have done). His Lordship with the Interpreter Mr. Gibson & an Indian Chief & 50 men came to our Camp at Dusk. The next day he called the Captains together, told what he had (done) & desired us to return home. We began our March that day, all but about 50 Fincastle men who went to the other Camp. On Friday night we reached Point Pleasant. On Sunday evening the greatest part of the Fincastle & Augusta Troops set out for home, every body being anxious."

On the 25th (October) General Lewis's army left the Pickaway Plains and took up what Albach in his "Western Annals"—a famous work in its day—calls a "bloodless retreat," to the Ohio River, which was reached in four or five days. Crossing the river to Point Pleasant, the army of Lewis was there disbanded, all returning to their homes, save those detailed to remain and guard the breastworks erected to protect the Kanawha Point. Lord Dunmore remained at camp some days to conclude as far as possible the desired results of the Ohio invasion. That his Lordship proposed to leave behind no incomplete victory, is best related in a letter written by Captain William Crawford to George Washington. The letter is dated Stewart's Crossing, November 14, 1774, and a portion of it reads: "Sir:—I yesterday returned from our late expedition against the Shawanese, and I think we may with propriety say we have had great success; as we have made them sensible of their villainy and weakness, and, I hope, made peace with them on such a footing as will be lasting, if we make them adhere to the terms

of the agreement, which are as follows: 'First, they have to give up all the prisoners taken ever by them in war with white people; also negroes and all the horses stolen or taken by them since the last war. And further, no Indians for the future are to hunt on the east side of the Ohio, nor any white man on the west side; as that seems to have been the cause of some of the disturbance between our people and them. As a guarantee that they will perform their part of the agreement, they have given up four chief men, to be kept as hostages, who are to be relieved yearly, or as they may choose.' The Shawanese have complied with these terms, but the Mingoes did not like the conditions, and had a mind to deceive us; but Lord Dunmore discovered their intentions, which were to slip off while we were settling matters with the Shawanese. The Mingoes intended to go to the Lakes and take their prisoners with them and their horses which they had stolen.

"Lord Dunmore ordered myself with two hundred and forty men to set out in the night. We were to march to a town about forty miles distant from our camp, up the Scioto, where we understood the whole of the Mingoes were to rendezvous upon the following day, in order to pursue their journey. This intelligence came by John Montour, son of Captain Montour, whom you formerly knew.

"Because of the number of Indians in our camp we marched out of it under pretense of going to Hockhocking for more provisions. Few knew of our setting off anyhow, and none knew where we were going to until the next day. Our march was performed with as

much speed as possible. We arrived at a town called the Salt-Lick Town the ensuing night, and at daybreak we got around it with one-half our force, and the remainder were sent to a small village half a mile distant. Unfortunately one of our men was discovered by an Indian who lay out from the town some distance by a log which the man was creeping up to. This obliged the man to kill the Indian. This happened before daylight, which did us much damage, as the chief part of the Indians made their escape in the dark; but we got fourteen prisoners, and killed six of the enemy, wounding several more. We got all their baggage and horses, ten of their guns, and 200 (two) white prisoners. The plunder sold for four hundred pounds sterling, besides what was returned to a Mohawk Indian that was there. The whole of the Mingoes were ready to start, and were to have set out the morning we attacked them."

It should be noted that the Mingoes refused to be a party to the Camp Charlotte treaty; their hostility remained unbroken, which fact, in large part, was the justification of the raid upon their town as related by Captain Crawford.

The destruction of the Mingo towns, which were located on the forks of the Scioto, meaning says Captain Alfred Lee—in his "History of the City of Columbus"—the junction of the Scioto and Whetstone, "at which now stands the city of Columbus," by the Crawford expedition, was the only act of violence done to the Indians in the Ohio interior, during the Dunmore invasion.

It having been agreed with Cornstalk's chiefs that a supplemental convention or treaty should be held

at Pittsburg, the ensuing spring, to ratify and confirm the Camp Charlotte "reconciliation," Dunmore, with several Shawnee and Mingo hostages as guaranty of the fulfillment of the Indian treaty, broke camp on the last day of October, departed from the Pickaway Plains and reached Fort Gower on the 5th day of November.

And now a most interesting and significant event was to be the final episode to the Dunmore campaign. While the armies of Lewis and Dunmore were conducting their movements in the Indian interior, in behalf of the rights of the Virginia backwoodsmen, the delegates to the first Continental Congress had assembled at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and in the early proceedings had agreed upon a declaration of rights, by which it was, among other things, declared that the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution and the several charters or compacts, were entitled to life, liberty and property; and that they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either, without their consent.

When Dunmore's army reached Fort Gower, the Virginian pioneers and patriots received the first news of the action taken by the Continental Congress. On that very day (November 5th), the officers of the army held a meeting and passed resolutions which we reproduce in full with the record of the meeting as officially preserved in the American Archives:

"Meeting of Officers Under Earl of Dunmore.—At a meeting of the officers under the command of his Excellency, the Right Honorable the Earl of Dunmore,

convened at Fort Gower, November 5, 1774, for the purpose of considering the grievances of British America, an officer present addressed the meeting in the following words:

"'*Gentlemen:*—Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready, at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just rights and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of Heaven; and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us, then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis.'

"Whereupon the meeting made choice of a committee to draw up and prepare resolves for their consideration, who immediately withdrew, and after some time spent

therein, reported that they had agreed to and prepared the following resolves, which were read, maturely considered, and agreed to, *nemine contradicente*, by the meeting, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette:

"*Resolved:* That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty, and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.

"*Resolved*, That we entertain the greatest respect for His Excellency, the Right Honorable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the Shawanese; and who, we are confident, underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of this country.

"Signed by order and in behalf of the whole corps.

"Benjamin Ashby, *Clerk*."

Unique and memorable scene on the soil of Ohio, on the banks of the "beautiful river;" Virginia frontiersmen celebrate their triumph over the Western Indians, the wards of the British, by proclaiming their sympathy with colonial independence.

The site of Fort Gower, to-day, gives little evidence of its historic importance. The Ohio at this point takes a plunge due south, while the Hockhocking, or Hocking, as it is usually designated, enters the Ohio by a curve from the west. The exact location of the almost forgotten stockade enclosure, as determined by the best traditionary lore obtainable, "on the spot," by the present writer—during a visit of inquiry while penning this account—was upon the east or north side of the Hocking, on the elevated bank of the Ohio, from which its garrison could overlook the broad, placid sweep of the majestic river, which is here flanked on the Virginia side by a chain of picturesque hills, the tip end of a spur of the Alleghany range. The palisaded earthworks, long since ploughed away, lay on the outskirts of what is now a little sleepy hamlet of a score and a half scattered dwellings, in which abide some six score inhabitants, who live the simple life "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," whose ancestors gave the settlement the name of Hockingport. Surely there should be a monument on that spot to perpetuate the memory of those patriotic Virginian officers, who in Ohio, in that prelude to the Revolution, declared their willingness, if called upon, to unsheath their swords "for the defense of American liberty." That was six months before the shot was fired at Lexington and Concord that was "heard 'round the world."

Dunmore, proceeding by way of Pittsburg, where he left some of the Indian hostages, reached Williamsburg on December 4th, having been absent one hundred and fifty days. He was given a hearty welcome and

reception in the "Palace" as the official residence was called, by the citizens of the Virginia capital, and the city officers formally took action in which they congratulated him on the conclusion of a dangerous and fatiguing service, and his safe return. The faculty of William and Mary College also passed congratulatory resolutions. The council of the Virginia colony, a body occupying the relation of senate to the House of Burgesses, likewise extended greetings and felicitations because of "his Lordship's vigorous opposition to the incursions and ravages of the Indian enemy" and because he had "effectually prevented the desolation of a growing back country and the horrors of human carnage," etc. The authorities of several counties joined in the chorus of congratulations and commendation.

But most significant of all was the resolution passed March 20, 1775, by the Virginia Convention, then assembled at Richmond. That resolution cordially and unanimously thanked "our worthy governor, Lord Dunmore, for his truly noble, wise and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemy," etc. That convention was composed of the heroic patriots of Virginia, George Washington being one of them. Mr. Virgil Lewis pertinently asks "does any one think that if there had been the least suspicion of treachery on the part of Dunmore in that war, that these men, or any of them would have voted in favor of that resolution?"

The doubt cast upon the honor and loyalty of Dunmore came later, when on the sixth of June (1775) Dunmore with his family fled from his Williamsburg

"Palace" and took refuge aboard the British man-of-war "Fowey," lying in the James River. Two weeks later his civil administration of Virginia terminated. He abandoned his office and his adherence to the colony; thenceforth he zealously served the royal government in its contest with the colonial rebels. Then came the odium that overcast his previous service to the Virginia colony.

This odium has been fostered by innumerable writers, one of the most prominent being the historian George Bancroft, who in his chapter on Dunmore's campaign, in which he concedes "the Virginia army appearing as umpire in the valley of the Scioto, nullified the statute which extended the jurisdiction of Quebec to the Ohio," severely arraigns the rapacity and cupidity of Dunmore, charging that the thrifty governor had strong passion for land and fees and was "a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois." This indictment Bancroft does not sustain by any proof or authority. Indeed it is claimed there are no records of registration or patents either in America or England confirming Colonial land possessions in favor of Lord Dunmore. Dunmore's reputation in this matter, moreover, suffered greatly at the hands of John Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, who in the Virginia-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, bitterly assailed the personal character of Lord Dunmore; but in this Penn gave unrestrained vent to his passion and prejudice.

As to the wide-spread statement that Dunmore formed a secret alliance with the Indians to assist Great Britain in the expected revolution or that he

played into the hands of Cornstalk's warriors in order to curry their favor against the Colonists, the evidence attainable is in favor of Dunmore's steadfast loyalty to the Colonists, up to the time that he yielded the governship. Mr. Alfred Williams, in an address before the Pickaway Pioneer Society, in 1873, declared that he wrote General Schenk, then American Minister to London, and obtained from him "full copies of the Dispatches of Lord Dunmore to the English government, containing a detailed account of the origin, progress, and execution of the campaign against the Scioto Indians. * * * These private confidential dispatches," continues Mr. Williams, "contained no intimation of any design, or desire even, upon the part of Lord Dunmore to form any alliance with the Indians against the Colonists. On the contrary, his confidential report to his government establishes the fact that he acted in the utmost good faith, and honestly labored for the promotion of the prosperity of the colony of which he was governor."

The initial contest of the Revolution in the New England colonies threw the people thereof into a fever of excitement and withdrew their attention from the distant events in the West. But the opening of hostilities between the Crown and the colonies brought about a shifting of the scenes in the trans-Allegheny country.

Under the provisions of the Quebec Act (1774) Detroit was made the capital of the territory northwest of the Ohio, and about the same time Captain Arent Schuyler de Peyster of the King's Regiment was assigned to the command of the post at Michilimackinac, with the superintendency of the Lake Indians,

comprising sixteen or more tribes, inhabiting the forests and prairies on both sides of the Mississippi from the Ohio to the north of Lake Superior.

As the rumblings of the approaching Revolutionary War in the colonies reverberated through the forests of the south and west, the tribesmen were struck with consternation and confusion. What should be their position in the contest and what would be their fate in the result?

The attitude of the Six Nations was a matter of great solicitude on the part of both British and colonial authorities and each side hastened to bring influences to bear on the great Iroquois Confederacy. In July, 1775, Lord Dartmouth forwarded from England, instructions to Colonel Guy Johnson, the Royal Superintendent of Colonial Indian Affairs, "to keep the Indians in such a state of affection and attachment to the King that his Majesty may rely upon their assistance in any case in which it may be necessary," and as to the Six Nations he wrote, "it is his Majesty's pleasure that you lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America."

Colonel Guy Johnson, who had much the same power and influence over the Six Nations possessed by his late father-in-law, Sir William Johnson, proceeded at once to carry out the behests of England. This he did in full sympathy for he was a Tory in feeling and he was heartily assisted by his brother-in-law, John Johnson, Sir William's son, and by the celebrated Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, then the most able and influential chieftain of the Six Nations. The

Johnsons went so far as to raise a Tory regiment of five hundred men and fortify Johnson Hall against the expected attacks of the colonists. Many conferences were held with representatives of the confederacy, the outcome of it all being that the Iroquois Long House became divided. The Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas gave their allegiance to England; while the Oneidas and Tuscarawas cast their lot with the colonists.

Meanwhile the sturdy, hard-headed Virginians saw the probable danger to the colonial cause because of the Western Indian hostility. They forwarded petitions of alarm and caution to the Continental Congress, and on July 12, 1775, the records of that body relate that the report of the committee on Indian affairs was taken up and considered, resulting in the passage of a resolution that there was "too much reason to apprehend that the British Government would spare no pains to excite the several nations of Indians to take up arms against these colonies, and that it becomes us to strengthen and confirm their friendly disposition toward these colonies."

Congress then proceeded to create three Indian departments, to superintend Indian affairs in behalf of the colonies. The Northern Department was to include the Six Nations, and all the tribes northward and eastward; the Southern Department was to comprise the Cherokees, and all the Indians that might be southward of them; the Middle Department embraced the Indian nations located between the other two departments—the territory of the Ohio country. Five commissioners were then appointed for the Northern

Department and three each for the other two departments. Appropriations were made for the maintenance of each commission. Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry and James Wilson were elected for the Middle Department. Subsequently Lewis Morris and Dr. Thomas Walker were substituted for Franklin and Henry, who found other duties would prevent their serving. The Journal of the Virginia House of Burgesses for the 24th of June (1775) records that, "Certain information having been received of the great discontent of the Ohio Indians, by reason of the delay of the Ratification of the late treaty of Peace concluded upon by his Excellency the Governor, on the part of this Colony and the Cornstalk, on the part of the said Indians, and that the Inhabitants on our Frontiers are under just apprehensions of a renewal of an Indian War, and no steps having been pursued by his Lordship for carrying on the said Treaty, or delivering up the Indian Hostages, agreeable to the terms of the said Treaty; resolved that said Treaty be immediately entered upon." It was further resolved that George Washington, Thomas Walker, James Wood, Andrew Lewis, John Walker and Adam Stephen, esquires, "or any three or more of them be and are hereby constituted a commission, on the part and behalf of this Colony to meet the chiefs or head men of the said Ohio Indians, as soon as the same can be done, at such place as they shall find most proper, to ratify and confirm the said treaty."

Washington did not serve on that Ohio Indian treaty commission; he had become otherwise engaged for on June 15th, the Continental Congress at Phila-

delphia had proceeded to the selection of a commander-in-chief of the Colonial Army and all members had at once turned toward Washington; with characteristic modesty he shrank from the preferred honor, deprecating his own fitness and recommending Andrew Lewis, the hero of Point Pleasant, as better qualified for the responsible office. But Washington was the unanimous choice of Congress and on June 24th—one week after the battle of Bunker Hill—accompanied by that brilliant cavalcade of officers, the new commander was on his horseback journey to Cambridge to assume charge of the cause of American Independence. When the Burgesses of Virginia chose Washington as a delegate to the Fort Dunmore Treaty, they did not know that he was then on that greater errand.

On September 15, 1775, in accordance with the previous agreement at Camp Charlotte between Dunmore and Cornstalk, the Indian delegates from the Ohio confederacy, assembled at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburg) and met the Continental commissioners, Walker, Wilson and Morris, and the commission representing the Virginia colony. It was a gathering of distinguished chiefs; Cornstalk, Minwha, Wryneck, Silver Heels, Blue Jacket, and fifteen other chiefs from the Shawnees; Captain White Eyes, Custaloga, and Captain Pipe, for the Delawares; Flying Crow and Kyashuta for the Six Nations; The Half King for the Wyandots; The White Mingo for the Mingoes; Shaganaba for the Ottawas; Glikkikan, Nathaneil and William, influential Christian Indians, represented the Ohio Moravian Missions; and many other orators and

lesser chiefs of the Western wilderness were present. Probably there had never been such an assembly of great chiefs from the Ohio country.

The deliberations with all the picturesque paraphernalia and dignified formalities lasted some five weeks. Many interpreters were kept busy day and night translating the speeches and recording the proceedings. It was a serious and exciting time for the anxious and perplexed tribesmen. It was difficult for the Ohio nations to understand the nature of the quarrel between the Americans and the British and more difficult for them to decide which side, if any, they should espouse.

Heckewelder in his Narrative relates some of the graphic incidents of the Pittsburg conferences. The Delawares, from Ohio, particularly, were troubled over the situation and were torn asunder in their views concerning the coming war. This discord developed into two factions led respectively by Captain White Eyes, at that time head chief of the Ohio Delawares—and lately the guide and main adviser of Lord Dunmore—and Captain Pipe, or Hopocan, chief of the Monsey or Wolf division of the Delawares, a turbulent and restless band; Pipe's residence, at that time, was on the Walhonding about fifteen miles from Goshochgung, at the forks of the Muskingum. White Eyes openly declared in favor of the Americans, which, says Heckewelder, so chagrined some of his people that "they thought proper to offer a check to his proceedings, by giving him a haughty tone in a hint, intended to remind him, who the Delaware Nation were, in the Eyes of the Six Nations (meaning that these had no will of their own, but were subordinate to the

Six Nations) when Capt. White Eyes, long since tired of this language, with his usual spirit, and an air of disdain, rose, and replied; that he knew well, that they, the Six Nations, considered his Nation as a conquered People—and their inferiours—'You say' (said he) 'that You had conquered me—that You had cut off my Legs—had put a Petticoat on me, giving me a Hoe and Corn pounder in my hands, saying: now Woman! Your business henceforward shall be, to plant,—hoe Corn, and pound the same for Bread for us Men and Warriours!'—'Look!' (continued White Eyes) 'at my Legs! if, as You say You had cut them off, they have grown again to their proper size!—the Petticoat, I have thrown away, and have put on my proper dress!—The Corn hoe and pounder I have exchanged for these fire Arms, and I declare, that I am a Man.'—then waiving his hand in the direction of the Allegheny River, he exclaimed—'and all the Country on the other side of that River is *mine*.'" He used the pronouns I, me, my and mine, in the Indian sense, meaning his tribe.

Heckewelder comments to the effect, that perhaps so bold and daring an address was never made heretofore to any council of Indians, by an Indian chief. These fearless denunciations were replied to by Captain Pipe. The dispute finally created a political schism in the Ohio Delawares, the Monseys retiring nearer to Lake Erie and taking good care to have the Six Nations, especially the Senecas, informed that they were friendly to the British.

Every article in the treaty at Camp Charlotte in the Autumn of 1774 was lengthily discussed and passed upon. All articles were finally confirmed and rati-

fied and says Virgil Lewis, "when this convention adjourned, every Indian nation from the Upper Allegheny to the Falls of the Ohio, and from that river to the Lake Erie—in short every one of the confederated nations of 1771—of those participating in the preliminary treaty of Camp Charlotte, and in the supplemental treaty of Pittsburg—entered into a pledge of peace and friendship, not only to Virginia, but to the New Amsterdam nation as well." How they kept that agreement of peace and friendship will hereafter be related.

About the time of the close of the Pittsburg conference, Sir Henry Hamilton was, by orders of the Crown, made Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent at Detroit, reaching that station early in November, 1775. Thus the settings are being placed for the drama of the American Revolution in the Ohio country.

Chapter VII.

THE WARPATH OF THE REVOLUTION

"LORD DUNMORE'S War, urged by Americans for the good of America, was the opening act in the drama whereof the closing scene was played at Yorktown." Such are the words of the author of the "Winning of the West." Had Cornstalk and his savage horde defeated the pioneer army of Lewis at Point Pleasant and subsequently repulsed Dunmore's invasion, the settlement of the Ohio Valley by the eastern and southern colonies would have been greatly delayed if not indeed permanently thwarted, the territory remaining, after the Revolution, in the possession of England as a dependent portion of Quebec Province.

Dunmore's treaty on the Pickaway Plains at once opened to the Virginians the untrod but fertile fields of Kentucky. As the northern range of the Alleghanies was the natural barrier that separated the eastern colonies from the upper Ohio Valley, so the lower or southern stretch of the same range, known as the Cumberland Mountains, blocked the line of migration from Old Virginia to the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.

But the time had arrived for that barrier to be penetrated. As we have learned, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768) the western boundary of the territory, south of the Ohio, ceded by the Six Nations to the English was to be the Tennessee River. Cornstalk's agreement at Camp Charlotte (1774) confirmed the English to this title so far as the Ohio Indians could affirm it or grant entry privileges to the Virginians. The latter now had secured "quit-claim deeds" to their western empire; one from the Iroquois, who

claimed it by conquest and one from the Ohio Confederacy, whose tribes had disputed the Iroquois claim.

But the Virginians had still a third claimant to deal with, the Cherokees, who were in possession of the country in question and who would not acknowledge the proprietory rights of either the Six Nations or the Ohio Confederacy. This sturdy Cherokee nation practically commanded the paths from Virginia and the Carolinas to the Kentucky country. The result of the Dunmore War opened the door for negotiations with the Cherokees, and Dunmore's soldiers had hardly reached their homes, after their campaign to the Pickaway Plains, before the aggressive settlers of the Old Dominion began laying their plans for the western expansion of Virginia.

The chief protagonist in this movement was Richard Henderson, a native of Virginia but at the time in question a resident of North Carolina whither he had moved in 1769 at the age of thirty-five. He was a man of unusual capacity and ambition; a lawyer and an associate justice of the North Carolina Superior Court. For some years he had been in close business relations with Daniel Boone from whom he had learned of the promising prospects in the Kentucky country. Henderson enlisted several associates, among them three brothers, Nathaniel, David and Thomas Hart, and formed a colonizing organization styled the Transylvania Company. As early as October, 1774, these enterprising colonizers began negotiations with the Cherokees looking to securing from these Indian possessors the right of settlement on their lands. In March, 1775, a great council was held at the Sycamore

Shoals of the Watauga River, between the colonist company and twelve hundred Cherokees, half of whom were warriors, who had been assembled at the behest of the chiefs Oconostota, Raven and Carpenter.

The proposed purchase by the company was approved by the chiefs just named but opposed by chief Dragging Canoe, who, says Roosevelt, "spoke strongly against granting the Americans what they asked, pointing out, in words of glowing eloquence, how the Cherokees, who had once owned the land down to the sea, had been steadily driven back by the whites until they had reached the mountains, and warning his comrades that they must now put a stop at all hazards to further encroachments, under penalty of seeing the loss of their last hunting-grounds, by which alone their children could live."

But the treaty purchase was concluded and for $50,000 worth of cloths, garments, utensils, ornaments, fire arms, powder, etc., the Indians ceded to Henderson and his partners an immense grant of all lands lying south of the Ohio and between the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers,—some eighteen million acres of land—a domain nearly one-half as large as the present state of Kentucky. One old chieftain said to Daniel Boone who was present, "brother, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it." He spoke truer than he knew. Not only did the proposed settlers find the territory a "dark and bloody ground," because of hostile savages on both sides of the Ohio but in addition Governors Martin of North Carolina and Dunmore of Virginia both issued proclamation against the great purchase as being with-

out legal sanction from either the English government or the colonial authorities; indeed, Martin designated Henderson and his partners as an "infamous company of Land Pyrates," and Dunmore branded the colony as "one Richard Henderson and other disorderly persons, his associates."

But the "Pyrates" defied all obstacles and proceeded to enter the promised land to which they had acquired such questionable title. Daniel Boone with a party of enlisted backwoodsmen was sent ahead to open the route through the forest to the Kentucky interior and there locate a center for the new colony. The details of this expedition and the experiences and exploits of Boone are admirably related in the recently published volume by H. Addington Bruce, entitled "Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road."

With his little band of path-breakers Boone passed through the famous Cumberland Gap, at the extreme southwestern point or toe of Virginia and amid many difficulties and dangers—two or three being killed by Indians and others of the party being frightened into abandoning the journey—threaded their way through the maze of forest and underbrush, creating that historic route, known as Boone's Wilderness Road, which ended on the banks of the Kentucky River at the mouth of Otter Creek. They arrived on this site in April (1775) and here they erected a blockhouse, the first "fort" in Kentucky and opened a land office where deeds were issued by the company as "Proprietors of the Colony of Transylvania." They called this setting of civilization in the heart of savagery, Boonesborough, but it was not the first colonizing nucleus in the Ken-

tucky country for James Harrod in the year before (1774) had led a party from the banks of the Monongahela to a branch of the Salt River, a site fifty miles west of Boonesborough. Harrod's little cluster of cabins was designated as Harrodstown.

There were also one or two other smaller settlements, notably Boiling Spring, a co-settlement with Harrodstown, and St. Asaph, more often known as Logan's Fort, established by Benjamin Logan. These last two—Boiling Spring and Logan's Fort—were not far distant from those already mentioned. Others were soon to spring into being, one deserving special mention, on the headwaters of Licking River, was known at first as Hinkson's, later Ruddell's Station. We need not chronicle the career of these settlements.

Henderson and his leading confreres soon followed Boone's advance guard and in the last week of May, at Boonesborough, was held the first convention, west of the Alleghanies, for the formation of a local government. There were seventeen or eighteen delegates to this civic assembly,—a constitutional convention—representing each of the four towns, Boonesborough, Harrodstown, Boiling Spring and Logan's Fort. The session was held in the open air "under the budding branches of a gigantic elm, while around their feet sprang the native white clover, as a carpet for their hall of legislation."

Henderson was elected President of the new government. Daniel Boone proposed laws for the protection of game and improving the breed of horses, the beginning of Kentucky's fame in that respect. Squire Boone, brother of Daniel, submitted laws for preserving the

cattle ranges. Henderson, who addressed the delegates, "much as a crown governor would have done," suggested the laws he thought wise to enact. These provided for courts of justice, for regulating the militia, for punishing criminals, fixing the fees for sheriffs, clerks, etc. The only clergyman member, Rev. John Lythe, an Episcopalian, gave religious coloring to the event by having passed a law forbidding profane swearing and Sabbath breaking. This embryo bill of rights also provided for "perfect religious freedom and general toleration," and complete liberty on the part of the settlers to conduct colonial affairs according to their needs.

Such was the romantic inception of the wilderness government of the Transylvania state. But it was short lived, for the backwoods legislature adjourned to meet in the following September (1775), but there is no authentic record of that second meeting. The assembly of Virginia vigorously inhibited the state scheme for Transylvania, the territory of which was then within the far-reaching limits of Fincastle County, Virginia, and hence the Henderson settlement came under the jurisdiction of the House of Burgesses at Richmond. Henderson and his Transylvania legislature then appealed to the Continental Congress for recognition, but their petition met a cold hearing and a definite refusal. Congress was agitated with the affairs of the American Revolution and it was no time to consider the creation of a new proprietary colony.

During the opening years of the American Revolution, 1775 and 1776, the western Indians both north and south of the Ohio, remained in a state of fear and

doubt. Dunmore's war had temporarily, at least, checked the aggressive hostility of the Shawnees and confederate tribes of Ohio, while the Transylvania Company purchase from the Cherokees quieted the hostility of that warlike nation. Meanwhile both the Crown and Colonial authorities were exerting every effort to respectively secure the alliance of the western tribesmen.

In 1775, that arch-mischief-maker Dr. John Connolly planned a union of the northwestern Indians with the British troops. Under command of Connelly a combined force of English and Indians was to rendezvous at Detroit, proceed thence, and after ravaging such frontier settlements as came in their route, the expedition was to enter Eastern Virginia and unite with Lord Dunmore who was then in the British service. In the furtherance of this plan, Connolly, after visiting General Gage at Boston and Lord Dunmore in Virginia, started with concealed instructions from the latter, for Detroit, but in passing through Maryland, his perfidy being suspected, he was arrested and by the authority of the Continental Congress held in close and safe custody in Philadelphia until 1781.

During the latter half of 1775 and the first half of 1776, the Ohio Indians remained for the most part inactive, fearing to commit themselves to either side of the contestants in the Revolution. Their sympathy, however, was with the British, for they were smarting under their defeat at the hands of Andrew Lewis and the humiliation inflicted upon them by Lord Dunmore. Moreover, Hamilton, Commandant at Detroit, and Carleton, Governor-General of Canada, were putting

forth every inducement to secure and retain the Indian coöperation. Hamilton sang the war-song and fraternized familiarly with the Indians and in his dispatches to his superiors gave them to understand that he would send out parties of Indians "to fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and its branches," and he selected to lead these raids qualified officers "who would be troubled by no compunctions and no emotions of pity in making the work of destruction complete."

Detroit became the great center for tribal gatherings. There a frequent scene was the assembly of "hundreds of painted savages, with uplifted tomahawks, scalping knives in their belts and fusils, lead and flints at hand." All the materials of war were supplied by the British "white father" and all were to be used against the American rebels. Everything that could be done to attach the Indians to the service of the King was done in unstinted manner. "They were coaxed with rum, feasted with oxen roasted whole, alarmed by threats of the destruction of their hunting-ground and supplied with everything that an Indian could desire." Meanwhile Carleton was employing similar methods at Montreal, whither the Iroquois and Canadian tribes were constantly summoned and plied with presents and arguments in favor of Great Britain.

On the other hand the Continental Congress at first during this period (1775-6) advocated merely the policy of keeping the Indians in a neutral condition, out of the contest entirely, and instructions to that effect were early sent to the American Indian commissioners for the three departments. But it was soon evident the tribesmen would not sit idly by and hold aloof and as

early as April, 1776, Washington, who knew the Indians, and whose keen eyes watched every feature of the Colonial cause, wrote to Congress, saying, as the Indians would soon be engaged either for or against them, he would suggest that they be engaged for the colonies. Congress considered this matter and in June empowered Washington to raise two thousand Indians to be employed in the proposed Canadian campaign, and he was authorized to offer the Indians rewards for prisoners. De Haas in his "Indian Wars," adds that while Congress was offering "their allies of the woods rewards for prisoners, some of the British agents gave them money for scalps."

The northwestern and the Ohio tribes influenced by England assumed more and more an aggressive hostility and the entire frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania now became the theatre of renewed Indian depredations. The Revolution in the Ohio Valley was the fierce and sanguinary war of the tomahawk and scalping knife against the rifle of the backwoodsmen. At this period it was estimated that the Indians of New York, Ohio and the vicinity of the lakes could bring ten thousand warriors into the field and if they could be aroused and united an appalling fate awaited the pioneer patriots of the trans-Alleghany country.

At this juncture (April, 1776) Colonel George Morgan was appointed Indian agent for the middle department, with headquarters at Pittsburg. Morgan is described in Hildreth's "Pioneer History" as a man of unmeasured activity, great perseverance, and familiar with the Indian manners and habits.

The American Archives report that on Tuesday, June 11, 1776, Congress having made an appropriation for presents to be distributed to the Indians, a delegation of the latter was received by Congress and "the speech agreed to was delivered as follows:

"'Brothers: We hope the friendship that is between you and us will be firm, and continue as long as the sun shall shine, and the waters run; that we and you may be as one people, and have but one heart, and be kind to one another like brethren.

"'Brothers: The King of *Great Britain*, hearkening to the evil counsel of some of his foolish young men, is angry with us, because we will not let him take away from us our land, and all that we have, and give it to them, and because we will not do everything that he bids us; and hath hindered his people from bringing goods to us; but we have made provision for getting such a quantity of them, that we hope we shall be able to supply your wants as formerly.

"'Brothers: We shall order all our warriors and young men not to hurt you or any of your kindred, and we hope that you will not suffer any of your young men to join with our enemies, or to do any wrong to us, that nothing may happen to make any quarrel between us.

"'Brothers: We desire you to accept a few necessaries, which we present you with as tokens of our good will toward you.'

"The presents being delivered, the Indian Chief begged leave to give a name to the President; the same being granted, an Onondaga Chief arose and saluted the President by the name of *Karanduaan*,

or the Great Tree, by which name he informed him the President will be known among the Six Nations."

Meanwhile the Kentucky settlers were hovering close to their stockades and awaiting anxiously the trend of events.

In the spring of 1776, George Rogers Clark, who had first visited Boonesborough the year before, joined the settlers on the Kentucky and contributed his courage and sagacity to the projects of the Transylvanians. He knew the doubtful value of their Cherokee title, and the futility of their efforts to get recognition from the Virginia House of Burgesses or from the Continental Congress. He realized that the followers of Boone and Henderson must secure permanency for their settlements by becoming either an acknowledged portion of Virginia or an independent commonwealth.

In June (1776) a general meeting of these settlers was held at Harrodsburg, previously Harrodstown, at which convention George Rogers Clark and Gabriel Jones were chosen members of the Virginia assembly, and armed with a petition signed by James Harrod and eighty-seven other settlers, the two envoys made the long journey over the Wilderness Road to Richmond.

The Virginia assembly had adjourned when they arrived at the capital and Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, referred the two Kentucky Envoys to the Executive Council at Williamsburg. Matters lay in abeyance till the Virginia assembly met in December, when Clark and Jones and Henderson and his friends appealed to the legislators for respective recognition. The result was that the Transylvania region was made

a political part of Virginia to be known as the "county of Kentucky," and Harrodstown, hereafter to be known as Harrodsburg, was made the county seat, having by this time supplanted Boonesborough in importance. With a large consignment of powder, to be used by the Kentucky settlers in their defense against Indian attacks, Clark and party returned by the Ohio River to Harrodsburg.

Through the firmness and tact of Colonel Morgan and the diplomacy and leadership of Major Clark, as briefly related, a general Indian war on the Ohio frontier had thus far been averted. But the increasing amity of the Ohio tribes only awaited an opportunity for an explosion. Most of the western tribes were allied with England, but the Shawnees, though never reconciled to a friendship for the Colonists, had as a tribe, since the Dunmore treaty, been held in restraint by the powerful influence of their trusted chief Cornstalk. But at length they too yielded to the potent arguments of the British agents and were preparing to go upon the warpath against the Kentuckians and Virginians. A tragic event let loose the dogs of war.

Cornstalk, true to his treaty agreement, solicitous for the honor and welfare of his people, and anxious to preserve the peace, determined to visit the garrison at Point Pleasant and use his influence to avert the threatened bursting of the storm.

In the spring of 1777, accompanied by the young Delaware chief Red Hawk, who fought by his side at Point Pleasant, Cornstalk crossed the Ohio and presented himself at the quarters of Captain Matthew Arbuckle, commander of Fort Randolph, as the stock-

ade at Point Pleasant had been named. After a frank statement by the chief that the Shawnees were planning to unite with the northern and western tribes and inaugurate a merciless frontier war, the news was speedily forwarded to Fort Pitt, then commanded by General Edward Hand; to Fort Henry, at mouth of Wheeling River, formerly known as Fort Fincastle; and the information was also posted to Richmond, capital of the Virginia government.

Troops were at once raised in Augusta, Bottetourt and Greenbriar counties. It was proposed to make another invasion of Ohio Indian country. The plan was for the volunteers from the inland Virginia counties and the contingent from Fort Pitt to meet at Point Pleasant and thence cross the Ohio for the Indian towns. Meanwhile Cornstalk and Red Hawk had been perfidiously detained at Fort Randolph as hostages for the peaceful behavior of their tribes. Ellinipsico, son of Cornstalk, worried about the fate of his father, left his Ohio quarters and hastened to Fort Randolph, where he was affectionately received by the great chief, who was engaged, says Stuart, "at that instant, in the act of delineating a map of the country and the waters between his Shawnee towns and the Mississippi, at our request, with chalk upon the floor." What followed is best learned from the account of Captain John Stuart, who was an eye witness of the horrifying scene.

On the day following the arrival of Ellinipsico, two young Virginia volunteers—Hamilton and Gilmore —crossed the Kanawha to hunt deer; on their return to camp, some Indians, concealed on the further bank

amongst the weeds, fired on them, killing Gilmore. Soldiers from the fort, sprang into a canoe, hastened to the relief of Hamilton, rescued him and returned with the corpse of Gilmore, covered with blood and scalped. At sight of the mutilated remains, the infuriated soldiers raised the cry "let us kill the Indians in the fort," and guns in hand, pale with rage, they rushed into the stockade to wreak their vengeance on Cornstalk and his companions. Captain Arbuckle endeavored to restrain the assailants but in vain. The brave chief, at once realized his doom was inevitable and his last words were those of courage to Ellinipsico, "My son," he said, "the great spirit has seen fit that we should die together and has sent you here to that end. It is his will and let us submit, it is all for the best," and turning his face to his murderers at the door, he fell without a groan, pierced with seven bullets.

That he had for some time felt premonition of his fate was evidenced by his speech the day before his foul taking off; for while conferring with his white captors in the fort he said, "when I was a young man and went to war, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more. Now I am here among you; you may kill me if you please; I can die but once; and it is all one to me, now or another time."

The brave and magnanimous chief, one of the greatest of his race, thus passed to the happy hunting-grounds beyond, the victim of the infamy of his white assassins whose voluntary guest he was that he might befriend them in the impending war. Ellinipsico quickly followed the chief's untimely fate, and was

shot as he sat upon a stool, the terrified witness of his father's death. Red Hawk attempted to escape up the chimmey but was shot down. Captains Arbuckle and Stuart gave respectful burial to Cornstalk and those who perished with him. The grave of the illustrious chief is today located in the court house yard at Point Pleasant and is marked by a modest monument of grey limestone upon which is engraved simply the word "Cornstalk." It is a shrine of a noble character, a blameless hero and a patriotic martyr. The historian Lewis notes that Cornstalk was survived by a son, The Wolf, who was one of the Shawnee hostages taken by Dunmore to Williamsburg, and who, after escaping, was connected with some of the events on the border in the early years of the Revolution.

The governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, offered a reward for the apprehension of the murderers. Several soldiers were suspected and cited for trial but were acquitted for lack of evidence,—the accused shielding themselves and their accomplices by false testimony or the suppression of the truth. Congress, through the agency of Colonel Morgan, made an effort to appease the Shawnees, for the murder of their brave and trusted leader but the offense was too atrocious to be condoned and the tribesmen of the slaughtered chief justly thirsted for the blood of his slayers.

The murder of Cornstalk was the signal that aroused the Ohio tribes to take up the tomahawk and go upon the warpath. At this time (1777) it must be noted that in the confines of what later became the State of Ohio, there were no white settlements, deserving

that designation. The savages, therefore, of the Ohio Confederation precipitated their warfaring bands over the Kentucky and Virginia borders. As one historian says, "It was a year of siege, of struggle and of suffering —but the gloomy months elicited some extraordinary instances of heroism and humanity."

It was the American Revolution in the West. These border incursions are replete with incidents of thrilling interest, but we hasten on to events greater in importance and particularly pertinent to the Ohio country. And before we enter upon this drama of the western Revolution, it is desirable that we acquaint ourselves with the leading *dramatis personæ*, some of whom have already been mentioned.

Foremost among the personages prominent from now on were the Girty Brothers, Simon, James, George and Thomas. They were the sons of Simon Girty, Sr., and for our information relating to this remarkable family, concerning which much has been published, we rely mainly upon the "History of the Girtys," by Consul Wilshire Butterfield, a work of unusual completeness and rare fidelity to historic truth.

Simon Girty, the elder, was a native of Ireland, whence he emigrated, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, to Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in trading with the Indians, and married an English girl named Mary Newton. Their first child was Thomas, born 1739; the second was called Simon after his father, born 1741; the third, James, arrived in 1743 and the birth of the fourth, George, was in 1745. There were no daughters, tradition to the contrary, notwithstanding. The Girty

family home, during the advent of the four sons, was at Chamber's Mills, on the Susquehanna, at the mouth of Fishing Creek, not far from the present site of Harrisburg.

The early years of the life of Girty, Sr., at Chamber's Mills and his wanderings therefrom are clouded by tradition and conflicting statements. Certain it is, however that he was of a roving disposition and given to the common vice of his class, intemperance. About the ending of the year 1751, Girty, Sr., was killed "in a drunken frolic" by an Indian named "The Fish." One John Turner, who at the time lived with the family, avenged the killing of Girty by "putting an end to the existence of The Fish." Turner received his reward by marrying (1753) the widow of Girty, "a woman of unblemished character."

During the vicissitudes of the French and Indian War, the Turner-Girty family became inmates of Fort Granville, on the bank of the Juniata, near present site of Lewistown. Fort Granville in July, 1756, was attacked by a party of twenty-three Frenchmen and one hundred Indians, mainly Delawares, Shawnees and Senecas. The besiegers were successful, the fort was burned and Turner, his wife, son John (Turner) and step-sons Girty, were prisoners in the hands of the savages, who conducted the captive family to Kittanning, "there tied Turner to a black post; danced around him; made a great fire; and, having heated gun-barrels redhot, ran them through his body! Having tormented him for three hours, they scalped him alive, and at last held up a boy with a hatchet in his hand to give him the finishing stroke."

This scene, inhuman but not infrequent in the annals of the Indian frontier, was witnessed by the crazed wife, who was compelled, with her four boys—Thomas, Simon, James and George—and babe John in her arms, to sit upon a log, the horrified spectators of their step-father's agony.

The separation of the family, divided among the Indian captors, followed the burning of the father. The mother and babe, John, were taken to the wilderness by the savages. In the turn of events, Thomas was rescued by white settlers and taken to Fort Pitt, where he became a trader for the ensuing fifteen or twenty years; glimpses are caught of him now and then as he wanders in his trading business through the Ohio country. The adventures of the other three brothers, Simon, James and George, furnish the material for many a volume of history, tradition and fiction. Simon was made a prisoner by a party of Delawares, Shawnees and French, finally being delivered to the Senecas, whose language he speedily mastered. James was allotted to the Shawnees, with whom he became thoroughly habituated in speech and manner of life. George was adopted by the Delawares.

This "distribution" of the Girty Brothers, be it remembered, was in the year 1756. Simon Girty, through his ability, bravery and tactful manners, made himself popular and influential not only in the Delaware tribe, but with all the tribesmen with whom he came in contact. He was a trader, an interpreter, a diplomat. He spent much of his time at Fort Pitt, taking an interest in public affairs and ingratiating himself in the favor of the white settlers. In the colony

boundary line dispute he figures as an advocate for Virginia. In the Dunmore War we saw Simon act as a guide and interpreter for the royal governor in his Ohio campaign, and we noted his participation in the treaty proceedings on the Pickaway Plains.

In February, 1775, the Virginia court at "Fort Dunmore" ordered all militia officers should take "the oath of allegiance, the oath of supremacy, the test oath and the oath of abjuration." Simon Girty, then a lieutenant in the Pittsburg militia, organized by Connolly, took the prescribed oath, and did sincerely promise and swear that he would be "faithful and bear allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third." "There can be no doubt," remarks Butterfield, that at this time "Girty, notwithstanding there was trouble of a serious nature between the colonies and the mother country, was well-disposed toward the latter."

In the summer of this same year (1775), the Virginia House of Burgesses, distrusting the attitude of Lord Dunmore and with the intent of holding the allegiance of the Ohio Indians in conformity with the "Camp Charlotte" agreement, decided to summon the Ohio Indians to a meeting at Pittsburg. One James Wood was appointed a commissioner to meet the Indians at the proposed conference and Wood was also instructed to make an extended trip into the Ohio wilderness and invite the Indians to the intended meeting. Girty was chosen as the guide and interpreter for Wood, who kept a most interesting journal of the embassy, a journal subsequently published, portions of it appearing in Kercheval's "History of the Valley of Virginia."

They started out in July (1775) and visited the Wyandots on the Sandusky and the towns of the Mingoes, Shawnees and Delawares, including Pluggy's Town on the Scioto, and Goschochgung, then the principal village of the Delawares on the present site of Coshocton. They met several of the chiefs, especially conferring with White Eyes at one of the Moravian towns. In this trip Girty seems to have been friendly to the Virginian cause, at all events not openly loyal to the British. Shortly after the return of Wood and Girty to Pittsburg, Connolly disbanded and discharged his militia and Girty thereby lost his office as lieutenant.

In September of this year Captain John Neville, under orders from Virginia, took possession of the dilapidated Fort Dunmore, built and so-called by Connolly, and restored the same as Fort Pitt. The Indian conference followed, in which the Munseys, Shawnees, Mingoes, Wyandots and Ottawas from Ohio agreed to maintain a strict neutrality as between the mother country and the colonies; an agreement, however, soon broken by all save the Delawares. On the arrival at Pittsburg of the colonial colonel George Mason, in April, 1761, Girty was made one of his official interpreters, holding this position three months, when he was discharged "for ill behavior." Girty was surely shifting to the side upon which he really belonged.

In the summer of this year (1776) Colonel Morgan, in the continued effort to restrain the Ohio Indians from allying themselves with the British, held a council at Fort Pitt. At this conference were present, Kia-

shuta, the Mingo chief, Captain Pipe, the Delaware, The Shade, a Shawnee chief, and Shegenaba, a son of Pontiac. The latter was the recipient of a present from Colonel Morgan for saving the life of an Ohio white settler. Shegenaba, who at this time resided on the Maumee, declined to accede to Hamilton's summons to report at Detroit and prepare for the warpath against the Americans. It was about this time, however, that the Ohio Indians, in spite of their previous professions of neutrality, began to display increased enmity towards the border whites and to commit open acts of hostility. Before the close of this year the Mingoes, living at Pluggy's Town on the Scioto, were guilty of a number of depredations across the Ohio, between the mouths of Captina Creek and the Great Kanawha.

Chapter VIII.

FIRST SIEGE OF FORT HENRY

BOTH the Continental Congress and the Virginia legislature realized by this time that great danger threatened the western settlements. The House of Burgesses resolved that the garrisons at Fort Pitt and Fort Randolph should be augmented and that Fort Fincastle, at the mouth of the Wheeling River, should be repaired, occupied by a small force and its name changed to Fort Henry, in honor of the patriot Patrick, who had been chosen governor of Virginia after the treacherous flight of Lord Dunmore.

Henry Hamilton at Detroit had already been busy preparing to arm the savages of the northwest and send them under command of British officers "to make a diversion and excite an alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania," as expressed by Germain, but in the words of Chatham "to let loose the horrible hell-hounds of savage war."

In the spring of this year (1777) before Hamilton had received positive orders to arm the Indians, Harrodsburg, Boonesborough and Logan's Fort had all been attacked by Ohio Indians, chiefly the fierce Shawnees, the dominating tribe in, what was to be, central and southern Ohio. Their towns were numerous, several of the chief ones being known as "Chillicothe," a word said to mean, "the place where the people live," or a village. The ones which will figure chiefly in our history as designated by Prof. R. W. McFarland, in the publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, are: the (1) Chillicothe on the Great Miami, on the present site of Piqua; (2) Chillicothe, often called "Old Chillicothe"

located about three miles north of Xenia; (3) Chillicothe, also often called "Old Chillicothe," on the west bank of the Scioto, at present location of village of Westfall—the Chillicothe spoken of in connection with Dunmore's War; (4) Chillicothe, now called Hopetown, —often designated as "Old Town"—three miles north of modern Chillicothe, present county seat of Ross county; this county seat Chillicothe does not figure in the Indian historic list; (5) Chillicothe, now Frankfort, Ross county, likewise frequently called "Old Town." All these five historic Chillicothes were Shawnee villages and the indiscriminate use of the name has led to great confusion and many misstatements by historical writers. These Chillicothes, with many neighboring villages bearing other names, were the centers of Indian activity during the Revolutionary period of Ohio history.

During the summer of 1777—known as the "bloody year of the three sevens"—the Mingoes, Wyandots, Shawnees and a few Delawares, under the direction of Hamilton at Detroit, planned a campaign for the capture of Fort Henry. The leaders and many followers set out from Detroit. At Goschochgung, (Coshocton) they were re-enforced, says Butterfield, by some Senecas, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies and by "a few French Canadians."

This hostile array, consisting of near four hundred savages, with some Detroit Rangers flying the British colors, all well supplied with arms and ammunition from Hamilton, crossed the Ohio and on the morning of September first appeared before the bastions of Fort Henry. Many alleged authorities state this

savage army was under guidance, if not the command, of Simon Girty. The testimony on this point is very conflicting. Abraham Rogers, an inmate of the Fort at the time of the siege and "a distinguished actor in the scene," in a newspaper account, published in 1833, speaks of the attacking body of Indians as consisting of about 500 men "commanded by the infamous Simon Girty." Lewis in his "History of West Virginia" places Girty in command of the besiegers. On the contrary McKnight in "Our Western Border," states, "the official records at Fort Pitt show that he (Girty) was then at that post and serving in the patriot ranks," and he adds the Moravian records confirm this, "and if this beleaguering force was commanded by a Girty at all, it must have been by George or James Girty, who were then living among the savages, the former being a leader of some influence." Butterfield declares Girty was not with the attacking party. The better evidence is in favor of Girty's absence. Indeed many features of this siege are obscured, by unsupported traditions and contradictory accounts. Not a few of these perplexing anacronisms arise from the fact that the writers confuse the two sieges of Fort Henry—the one in September, 1777, and the one in September, 1782—sieges similar in the main, but differing in many striking incidents. There was another "siege"—so-called—in 1781 but it was unimportant and of no historical value. From the superabundant literature on the subject, we endeavor briefly to extract the more important facts concerning the siege of 1777.

General Edward Hand at this time, as previously noted, was commandant at Fort Pitt while Colonel

George Morgan was the Indian agent located at the same post. The other stockades in the vicinity including Fort Henry were mostly self-garrisoned by the neighboring settlers.

Fort Henry stood upon the Virginia bank of the Ohio River about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Wheeling Creek. The fort enclosed over half an acre of ground and was a parallelogram of square oak pickets, ten or twelve feet high and pointed at the top, with bastions and sentry boxes at the corners. Inside were log barracks, a storehouse, a well, and cabins for families, the captain's or commandant's house having two stories, "with the top adapted so as to work one small cannon." Back of the fort and between it and a rising hill, the land had been cleared and twenty-five or thirty log cabins erected by the settlers; one of these cabins was the home of Colonel Ebenezer Zane. Colonel David Shepherd was in command of the fort with a little force variously stated to be from twelve to two score men; one who claimed to be of the number, said, "the little garrison who were able to bear arms did not exceed fifteen in number and of those several were between the ages of twelve and eighteen, but they were sharp-shooters."

On the morning of September 1st, concealed partly by a river fog and partly by the brush and tall corn, the Indians crossed the Wheeling Creek in their advance upon the fort. Captains Samuel Mason and Joseph Ogle (or Ogal) who with two small companies of some twenty each, had previously arrived from Fort Pitt, having been warned of the proposed attack, sallied forth to meet the invaders. The brave defenders fell

into an ambuscade and were nearly all shot down amid the blood-curdling yells of the "screeching, murdering demons." Captains Mason and Ogle, both badly wounded, regained the fort, the garrison of which was now reduced to only ten or twelve men and boys.

The Indians gloatingly demanded, in the name of Hamilton and the British government, an immediate surrender but the "little Spartan band" returned word that they would all perish rather than yield themselves to the besiegers. The infuriated assailants thereupon made a desperate assault "to force the gates and try the strength of the pickets by a united effort." They were repulsed and the unerring fire from the portholes held them at bay. The siege was stubbornly protracted from early morning till ten or eleven o'clock at night, the ensuing hours of which were made hideous and fearful by the yells of the tribesmen and firing of guns and the hurling of fire brands, at the stockade. Not a man in the fort was killed but the loss on the part of the Indians was great, being variously estimated from twenty to one hundred, the exact number being unknown, as their dead, after the manner of the Indians, were carried off or concealed.

The bravery and coolness of the fort inmates were unsurpassed; the courage and determination of the women being no less conspicuous than that displayed by the men. Mrs. Elizabeth Zane, wife of Ebenezer and sister of the McCullough brothers, "rendered much actual service to the men by running bullets, cutting patches, making cartridges, cheering and encouraging by her presence, exhortations, and assistance,

the sometimes almost exhausted efforts of the brave defenders of the fort."

The succeeding day the persistent but somewhat discouraged redmen prepared to renew the attack, when Colonel Andrew Swearingen with a force of some twenty armed men arrived from Holliday's neighboring stockade and succeeded in entering the fort. And now the heroic and master event of the siege was enacted. A few hours after the entry of Swearingen's band, Major Samuel McCullough, frequently spelled McCulloch,—"whose daring achievements in Indian warfare fill the pages of history"—"at the head of forty gallant mounted men from Short Creek, put in an appearance, and made an impetuous rush for the great gate, which was joyfully thrown open to admit them."

At the instant of the approach of Major McCullough's cavalcade, the Indian besiegers reappeared and made a precipitate dash to forestall the entrance of the relief party to the fort. All the Short Creek horsemen, however, succeeded in entering the stockade, except the gallant major, who, anxious for the safety of his men, held back until his own chance of entry was entirely cut off. Finding himself entrapped by the savages, prepared to deal with him without mercy, he spurred his horse at full speed in the direction of the hill back of the fort and village, hoping to escape to Van Mater's stockade, a few miles distant.

At the brow of the hill he encountered a band of Indians returning from a plundering expedition among the nearby settlements. Thus cornered there was no way of escape unless by a leap over the precipice to

the Wheeling Creek bottom below. It was the only alternative—that or become the prey of his howling, demoniac pursuers, facing him on every side, save on the brink of the bluff. It was "death among the rocks and brambles or by the knife and fagot."

Without a moment's hesitation, the baffled but undaunted horseman, firmly braced himself in the saddle, grasped tightly the bridle reins with his left hand and gripping his rifle in the right, forced his unfaltering horse over the yawning brink—"a plunge, a crash, crackling timber and tumbling rocks, were all the wondering savages could see or hear."

The red warriors were stupefied, "the hill," says McKnight, "where this rash and reckless foe had gone over was nearly three hundred feet high, and in some places the slope was almost precipitous; while, therefore, they could not but admire his audacity and rejoice that their most inveterate enemy was finished at last, they regretted that he had been so unexpectedly spared their tortures; they crowded to the edge of the cliff; but what was their amazement and disgust to see the fiery steed, with the invulnerable major sitting erect upon his back, dashing across the creek which ran at the base of the hill, and then careering across the peninsula at a free and rapid stride."

It was one of the most daring feats ever accomplished and is often cited as the companion piece of the hillside descent of the intrepid Israel Putnam.

A careful investigation of the facts seems to reveal that McCullough's feat was a clear leap of some fifty feet from the top of the cliff to a landing on the tree and brush-clad slope, from which he dashed down a

steep incline of two hundred and fifty feet to the river bottom. The distance covered by the intrepid horseman in the feat, is therefore stated by some to be two hundred feet, which was the perpendicular height of the cliff, and by others put at three hundred, the incline distance covered by the fearless rider.

The heroic leap of McCullough was the final incident that immortalized the first siege of Fort Henry. It was not characteristic of the Indians to prolong a siege or campaign; the quality of perseverance or persistency was strikingly lacking in the savage. They were impatient of quick results and when such were not forthcoming, the enterprise, whatever its nature, was speedily abandoned. The reënforcement of the fort by McCullough's troops completed the discouragement of the besieging hosts and after firing a few farewell shots at the stockade, "they folded their tents, like the Arabs, and quietly stole away." Not, however, did they depart, until they had wantonly killed upwards of three hundred head of cattle, horses and hogs belonging to the Wheeling settlers and not until they had burned most of the cabins that were located in the vicinity of the fort to which the distressed families had fled for protection.

The Ohio tribesmen mostly returned to their wigwam or cabin centers, but some fifty or more Wyandots under the leadership of their chief, called the Half King, returned to the vicinity of Fort Henry in the latter part of September with intent to commit further depredations. A company of twenty-five frontier volunteers under Captain William Foreman, who came to the defense of the fort, was ambuscaded and all,

including the captain and his two sons, were mercilessly slaughtered. It was a sanguinary epilogue to the Fort Henry siege and the culminating outrage committed by the Ohio savages in the dreadful months of the year 1777.

The tragic fate of the gallant Foreman and his party inspired a local poet to celebrate their fame in verse, some of which read:

Beneath the shadow of yon frowning steep
The blue Ohio rolled along;
The woods and waves were lulled to sleep
By many a sweet bird's soothing song.
They came, those men of lion hearts;
They came along that pathless shore,
Nor deemed the tomahawks nor darts
Would soon decide their marches o'er.

As leaps the lightning from the cloud,
As on their prey the tigers spring,
So on them rush'd the savage crowd,
The woods with yells unearthly ring.
An hundred warriors round them stand.
An hundred more rushed down the hill,
To wreak upon that little band
Their demon wrath and thirst to kill.

Not on the squadron cover'd field
Amid the bugle's cheering notes,
Where bulwarks high are strong to shield,
And their proud flag above them floats,
O, not amid war's pageantry
Where pæans of glory rung,
Were those brave soldiers doom'd to die,
They fell all lonely and unsung.

Such were the opening scenes of the American Revolution in the Ohio country. While the fires of Independence were sweeping the seaboard colonies, the trans-Allegheny west and the more distant northwest was in the powerful and almost undisputed pos-

session of Great Britian. This vast territory from the forks of the Ohio to its mouth at the Mississippi and thence north to the Great Lakes was almost solely inhabited by the Indians, with the few and far between French settlements, which had, since the French and Indian War, become British garrisons and supply posts.

But this great background was to be the arena of Revolutionary scenes fully as potent, if not so spectacular, as those being enacted in the valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Hudson and the Susquehanna. It was not only the policy of England to hire Hessians to fight its battles on the Colonial front, but also its more dastardly scheme to subsidize the savages of the west and bribe them to assault and massacre the colonial settlers on the western frontier.

The commanders of the British posts at the west and northwest spared no effort or means to instigate the tribesmen against the Americans. They armed, sent forth and directed the bloody and merciless expeditions of the redmen. Hamilton at Detroit was the chief instigator and plotter of the savage warfare and won the opprobrious title of "the hair-buyer" because of the incentives and rewards he offered the redmen for white scalps. In all this he acted not only with the knowledge but direct orders of the Canadian authorities and the department at London for colonial affairs, at the head of which was Lord George Germain. It remained for some brave and sagacious American leader to comprehend the immeasurable importance of checking and destroying the British power in the northwest and of conquering that territory for the

colonial confederacy. The man to conceive that idea, plan and carry out its execution was George Rogers Clark.

Before entering upon the recital of Clark's remarkable campaign we must note some events transpiring in Kentucky and Ohio. We left the backwoodsmen of the Kentucky settlement unsuccessfully struggling for independent government. But independent government was not so necessary to the existence of the community as was the commodity of salt. Its transportation from the east, accomplished only by horseback, was cumbersome and expensive. There were as we have noticed, rich salt springs at the Lower Blue Lick on the Licking River, to which the Kentucky settlements must resort for saline supplies.

Early in January (1778) a party of thirty salt-makers left Boonesborough, under the guidance of Daniel Boone, for the springs just mentioned. The work had progressed satisfactorily when early in February, under cover of the falling snow, the salt camp was suddenly surrounded by a party of one hundred Ohio Shawnee Indians, commanded by the Shawnee chief Black Fish, and guided by two Canadian scouts, in the English employ, and it is claimed accompanied by James and George Girty, then in the service of England.

The salt-makers, outnumbered by the foe, were easily made prisoners and the jubilant redmen, with Boone and his party, started on their return, having for their destination Detroit, that they might there deliver to Hamilton their captives and receive his

promised reward which was twenty pounds or $100.00 apiece for American prisoners received by him alive and well.

It was a long and tedious journey, across the Ohio river in a buffalo-hide boat, and then through the forest wilds in the cold of winter. A stop was made at little Chillicothe, about three miles above the present Xenia. Here a jollification was held by the Indians over the success of their expedition; and here Boone and sixteen of his companions, were selected for their superior qualities and adopted, with the usual ceremonies, into the Shawnee tribe; Boone was initiated as a "son" into the family of Black Fish, who gave his captive the name of Sheltowee, or Big Turtle.

It was the last of March when the warriors with their marketable captives, accompanied by Boone and his "father," Black Fish, reached Detroit. Hamilton was greatly pleased with the opportunity of meeting the most famous and intrepid backwoodsman of the day, Daniel Boone, and offered Black Fish no less than $500.00 for this prize prisoner. But Black Fish would not sell and with his "son" returned "from the flats of Michigan, covered with brush-choken forest, to the rolling valley of the Miamis, with its hillsides clothed in their rich, open woods of maple and beech, then just bursting into bloom."

At little Chillicothe, the home of Black Fish, Boone simulating contentment, entered into the Indian life, engaging in their games, hunts and activities as if fully reconciled to his Shawnee adoption. Thus the spring passed when the Indians began preparations for an invasion of Kentucky and an attack on Boones-

borough. For this campaign not only the Shawnees, but the Mingoes, Ottawas, and many Delawares began to assemble until Boone saw "four hundred and fifty of the choice warriors of the west, painted in the most exquisite war style, and armed for battle." He trembled for the fate of his home in Kentucky.

It was in the middle of June, that the wily and dauntless Boone, at the break of day, unseen and unheard, slipped from his wigwam and sped for the Ohio river, over a route he well knew. For four successive days, at the rate of forty miles a day, with but one meal during all that time, he stealthily picked his circuitous way to the Blue Licks and thence on to Boonesborough, to the surprised and rejoicing settlers of which he told the story of his captivity and gave the alarm of the intended assault. He had been absent four and a half months and his wife and children having given him up for dead had returned to the old Carolina home on the Yadkin.

Aided by the faithful residents of Boonesborough, among whom Simon Kenton was now sojourning, Boone made careful preparation for the expected siege. The enemy appeared—September 7th—four hundred warriors under Black Fish, and forty or fifty French-Canadians, under Captain Du Quesne, with British and French colors flying. They surrounded the stockade and demanded its capitulation in the name of his Britannic Majesty. The threats of the besiegers were spurned by the forty or fifty defenders of the fort. The siege lasted ten days; one of the most remarkable in the history of savage warfare in the west. The assault, in which all the treacherous tricks and

dashing surprises known to the redmen were attempted, was in vain, and the baffled warriors, after the loss of forty or fifty braves, suddenly disappeared in the night and began their retreat to their Ohio towns.

Boone's men picked up a hundred and twenty-five pounds of flattened bullets that had been fired at the log sides of the stockade, and it is estimated an additional hundred pounds of lead were buried in the slabs of only one of the bastions.

While the events just recited were transpiring on the lower Ohio and in the valleys of the Scioto and the Miamis, the Revolution was progressing in Eastern Ohio. In this section, and later in other western regions, three personages take prominent part. They were known as the "three white renegades," because of their despicable desertion from the American cause to that of Great Britain. This notorious triumvirate was Simon Girty, Mathew Elliott and Alexander McKee. With the first we have already become acquainted; the other two deserve a brief introduction.

Mathew Elliott, an Irishman by birth, had formerly resided in Pennsylvania, east of the Allegheny mountains, and after the French and Indian War, took up his residence at Fort Pitt, whence he engaged quite extensively in the Indian trade. He was there employed when the war broke out between the Ohio tribes and the Virginians. He participated in the war inaugurated by Lord Dunmore, and as we saw, was with the Shawnees on the Scioto at the approach of Dunmore and acted as a messenger for the tribes to the Virginia army, carrying a flag of truce to the Virginia governor and asking terms of peace for the

Cornstalk confederacy. After the treaty of Camp Charlotte, Elliott resumed his residence at Pittsburg, renewing his traffic with the Ohio Indians. In October, 1776, when he was plying his business with the tribesmen on the Muskingum, Elliott was seized by a band of Wyandots and his goods confiscated. He escaped to Detroit, where Hamilton, later treating him as a spy—though it is believed there was a traitorous compact between them—sent him as a prisoner to Quebec, in which guise he was retained until late in 1777. Released on parole—or pretending to be, for in reality he had received a captain's commission from the British and was in their service—Elliott returned to Pittsburg where we find him in the spring of 1778. All this time he was at heart a Tory and in sympathy with the British, unscrupulous and deceitful, though assuming loyalty to the Americans.

Alexander McKee, a native of Pennsylvania and for years a neighbor of Elliott, likewise was an Indian trader with headquarters at Pittsburg. He served as deputy-Indian agent under Sir William Johnson from 1772 until the death of the latter in 1774. McKee had by his commerce with the Indians acquired considerable wealth and much influence in and about Pittsburg. But his allegiance to Virginia and the Americans was under suspicion and as early as April, 1776, he had been put upon his parole, by the colonial authorities at Pittsburg, not to give any aid or comfort to the British. "He must be an enemy to the United States," wrote Commandant Arbuckle, from Fort Randolph, to General Hand at Fort Pitt, "for the grenadier squaw and her friends, who are now at this

garrison—(Point Pleasant)—say that he has engaged his Indian friends to carry off his effects to their town; which being accomplished, he would then make his escape to Detroit."

This traitorous triad, Girty, McKee and Elliott, had secretly been acting together and on the last day of March (1778) fled the vicinity of Fort Pitt and went directly to the Delawares on the Muskingum, and as the Moravian Records recite, came near changing the neutrality of that tribe to open hostility against the Americans.

When these white savages, "an ignoble trio of go-betweens and desperadoes," arrived in Goschochgung (Coshocton) a series of dramatic scenes ensued. The fugitive emissaries of the British, joined by some twenty deserting soldiers, Tory sympathizers, spread false reports among the Delawares that the American troops in the east had been cut to pieces by the British and that Washington was killed; that Congress, then sitting at Yorktown, had ceased to exist; that the remnant of the colonial troops was retreating west and would attack the Ohio tribesmen.

Great consternation prevailed among the Indians and Captain Pipe, friendly to the British and seeking this opportunity to overthrow his rival Captain White Eyes, urged the Delawares to seize the hatchet and go upon the warpath against the Americans; "Goschochgung rang with the war song, rifles were cleaned and tomahawks sharpened and the warriors painted their faces and selected their plumes." But White Eyes plead for delay until the truth could be learned. Meanwhile Heckewelder and a companion, John She-

bosch, hastened from the Moravian towns to Pittsburg, where they received confirmation of the news of the victories of the Colonists and the falsity of the reports of the renegade trio. Hurrying to Goschochgung, Heckewelder and Shebosch secured a reluctant hearing by the Delawares and contradicted the rumors of the Girty party; reassured the Delawares and aided by the earnest and eloquent appeal of White Eyes, who remained true to his friendship to the Americans, counteracted the mischief spread by the white traitors.

But it was a critical moment for the Delawares, the Moravians and the frontiersmen. Heckewelder has graphically described his mission to Goschochgung; his cold and disheartening reception by the hesitating and suspicious warriors; the counter speeches of Captain Pipe and White Eyes; the wavering of the perplexed savages and their final decision to remain on the side of the Long Knives. The foul plot to alienate the Delawares was frustrated.

At one of the meetings of the council, Heckewelder handed White Eyes a newspaper containing the account of Burgoyne's surrender; the captain held it aloft so the assembled braves might gaze upon it and said, "see my friends and relatives, this document contains great events; not the song of a bird, but the truth." He then gave Heckewelder his hand and welcomed him to the Delaware wigwam. The "horrid brood of refugees," slunk away and leaving the Delawares, proceeded westward, "inflaming the Shawnees and other tribes to a white heat of rapacity against the border settlements." Thence they continued on to Detroit. They were thereafter the aiders and abet-

tors of the Indian and British incursions into Kentucky and Virginia. One of these raids, for example, was in May, when a number of Wyandots and Mingoes under Pomoacan, Half King of the Wyandots, crossed the Ohio and assaulted Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant. In this same month Congress, closely watching the Ohio events, resolved to raise two regiments from Virginia and Pennsylvania, to serve for one year, for the protection of the western frontier and for operation thereon.

Chapter IX.

CLARK'S CONQUEST OF THE WEST

WHILE the American Revolution in the Ohio country, during the spring and summer of 1778, was presenting the counter-plays of the Canadians and tribesmen, Moravians and frontiersmen, George Rogers Clark was, in the Illinois country, entering upon that remarkable conquest, the recital of which is more suggestive of romance than staid history.

The disheartening gloom of Valley Forge had given way to the promise of brighter days for the Americans and the fickle goddess of victory was bestowing her gifts upon the Colonists in the East. Henry Hamilton at Detroit, Sir Guy Carleton, Governor-General of Canada, and even Lord George Germain, Colonial Secretary in the British Cabinet, clearly understood that the hopes of England, in this contest, lay peculiarly in the great Northwest; that territory bounded by the Ohio, the Mississippi and the chain of Great Lakes, a vast domain of two million four hundred thousand square miles, inhabited by countless savages and occupied at various points by British garrisons. That empire, larger than any European kingdom except Russia, must, at all events, be saved to England, whatever might be the fate of the sea-board colonies.

Thwaites in the essay on Clark in his Western History, notes the strongholds of the English in the Northwest as follows: "At Detroit, Mackinac, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, were small forts built of logs. These structures had originally been erected by the French fur-traders to protect their stocks of goods, and in times of danger served as rallying-points. When the English took possession they were considerably

strengthened, and under this remodelling some of them came to be formidable fastnesses in a wilderness where besiegers were chiefly savages, without artillery. As a rule, the curtains were guarded at the four corners by solidly built blockhouses, serving as bastions, these houses being generally two stories in height and pierced for rifles and cannon. One or more of the curtains were formed by the rear walls of a row of log-cabins, the others being composed of palisades, great logs standing on end, the bottoms well buried in the ground and the tops sharp-pointed; around the inner edge of these wooden ramparts, the roofs of the cabins formed a gallery, on which crouched those of the defenders who were not already engaged in the block-houses. The heavy-timbered gate, with its massive forged hinges and bolts, was guarded with particular tenacity. In the event of the enemy forcing this, or making a breach in the curtains by burning or scaling the palisades, the blockhouses were the last towers of refuge, around which the contest was waged to the bitter end."

The Indians it should be noted did not build forts. Their mode of warfare did not admit of the use of enclosed defenses.

It was given to George Rogers Clark, the "Washington of the West," then a young man of twenty-six, to rescue this domain, so coveted by England, from the latter's possession. Clark's well matured plan was that of a courageous general and a farseeing statesman. With a proper military force he proposed to descend the Ohio, proceed by the river or land to

Kaskaskia, and thence march to Detroit by way of the chief British strongholds, capturing each as he advanced.

It was late in December (1777) that Clark submitted his bold and patriotic project to Governor Patrick Henry and his counsellors, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason. They endorsed the sagacity and bravery of the scheme but neither the Continental Congress nor the Virginia Legislature could supply the necessary money or furnish the five hundred troops required by Clark. The campaigns in the East and South absorbed the soldiery and sinews of war which the Continental powers had at command. But Virginia, ever the head and front of the Revolution, must somehow promote this effort to deprive England of its western province, a large portion of which Virginia claimed as its exclusive property.

With the approval of the legislature, Governor Henry gave Clark the commission of colonel and authority to raise seven companies, each of fifty men, who were to enlist as militia and paid as such. These soldiers were to be enrolled solely from the frontier counties west of the Blue Ridge, "so as not to weaken the people of the sea coast region in their struggle against the British." They were to be paid by Virginia and as a further incentive or reward, it was agreed that in the event of success each private volunteer would be given three hundred acres of land,—officers in greater proportion—"out of the lands which may be conquered in the country now in the possession of the Indians."

Some twelve hundred pounds in the depreciated Continental paper money was voted Clark by the Legislature for this enterprise, which was really the individual undertaking of the colonel, rather than a state or national effort. The progress and result of this heroic campaign has been recited innumerable times by American authors, notably in detail by Consul Wilshire Butterfield; with inexhaustible research by William H. English, and with graphic terseness by Theodore Roosevelt; but doubtless the most accurate accounts are found in the "Memoir" of Colonel Clark and the "Journal" of Captain Bowman.

Colonel Clark succeeded in raising only about one hundred and fifty men, whom he divided into three companies, placed respectively under Captains Joseph Bowman, second in command, Leonard Helm, and Williams Herrod. Each of these officers had seen frontier service and had been associated with Clark in his Kentucky exploits.

Thwaites describes this soldiery thus: "They were a rough, and for the most part unlettered folk, these Virginia backwoodsmen who formed Clark's little army of conquest. There was of course no attempt among them at military uniform, officers in no wise being distinguished from men. The conventional dress of the eighteenth century borderers was an adaptation to local conditions, being in part borrowed from the Indians. Their feet were encased in moccasins. Perhaps the majority of the corps had loose, thin trousers of homespun or buckskin, with a fringe of leather thongs down each outer seam of the legs; but many wore only leggings of leather and were as bare of knee

and thigh as a Highland clansman; indeed, many of the pioneers were Scotch-Irish, some of whom had been accustomed to this airy costume in the motherland. Common to all were fringed hunting shirts or smocks, generally of buckskin—a picturesque, flowing garment reaching from neck to knees, and girded about the waist by a leathern belt, from which dangled the tomahawk and scalping-knife. On one hip hung the carefully scraped powder-horn; on the other, a leather sack, serving both as game-bag and provision-pouch, although often the folds of the shirt, full and ample above the belt, were the depository for food and ammunition. A broad-brimmed felt hat, or a cap of fox-skin or squirrel-skin, with the tail dangling behind, crowned the often tall and always sinewy frontiersman. His constant companion was his home-made flint-lock rifle—a clumsy, heavy weapon, so long that it reached to the chin of the tallest man, but unerring in the hands of an expert marksman, such as was each of these backwoodsmen."

With this "army" and "a considerable number of families and private adventurers," Clark set out—May 12, 1778— from Redstone on the Monongahela. His "flotilla of clumsy flat boats, manned by tall riflemen," after touching at Pittsburg, floated down the Ohio. It was two weeks before the expedition reached the rapids, and camped upon "Corn Island," midstream, opposite the site of Louisville. Here a Kentucky company, under Captain John Montgomery, was added to the "regiment," which still numbered, all told, less than two hundred, for there were not a few deserters. Simon Kenton here joined Clark as his most trusted woodsman and scout.

On June 24th, the "flotilla" resumed its course with Ohio's current. On the north bank of the river, at the gate of Fort Massac, they moored their flat boats and disembarked to enter upon an overland journey to Kaskaskia, through a wilderness, dense with woods and brush, interspersed with streams and swamps, across prairies and level meadows, the entire route beset by wild animals and hostile savages. This little army in this unknown country was nearly a thousand miles from their base of supplies. Did any Continental regiment in the East display such hardihood or patriotism? Reynolds in his "Pioneer History of Illinois," notes: "Clark's warriors had no wagons, pack-horses or other means of conveyance of their munitions of war or their baggage other than their robust and hearty selves," adding, "the country, between Fort Massacre (Massac) and Kaskaskia at that day (1778) was a wilderness of one hundred and twenty miles, and contained, much of it, a swamp and difficult road."

On the evening of the 4th of July, the invading force approached the Post of Kaskaskia, mainly inhabited by the French, its first settlers in the early days of French discovery. Clark's soldiers halted in the distant woods till after sunset and then, veiled in darkness, silently crossed the river and encircled the settlement, the people of which, French, Creoles and Indians, had for the most part assembled in the large room of the stockade, runs the popular and oft repeated story, and were dancing and revelling after the French mirth-loving fashion. Before anyone was aware the "town" was captured, for not a gun had been fired or a sentinel

disturbed, Clark unobserved entered the ball room and when discovered, with folded arms coolly announced to the startled revellers that they might dance on, "only to remember they were now dancing to Virginia and not Great Britain."

Such in briefest terms is the "tale" of one of the most romantically told incidents in the campaign of Clark. The picture of the Kaskaskia capture has been done in graphic colors by many a writer, particularly by Henry Cabot Lodge in his brilliantly written "Story of the Revolution." But the testimony of the Draper Manuscripts robs the scene of much of its alleged romance. After repeating the event as usually portrayed, Thwaites remarks: "It is a picturesque hero tale. One fastidious might say it smacked over much of melodrama; but I almost wish it were true, for often sombre western history seems now and then to need a lurid touch like this."

M. Phillip Rocheblave, a Frenchman, but the British commandant of the post, was rudely awakened from his slumbers, in his official quarters, made prisoner and as such sent, under guard, to Williamsburg. At first consternation and fear swept the people of the post—the French were in mortal terror as the British officers had made them believe the Americans were little better than savage brutes and would outdo the Indians in inflicting untold indignities. The Indians in and about the post were friendly to the British and liable to summon the neighboring tribesmen and spring fiendlike upon the brave little army of Virginia. It required great courage, coolness, patience and tact on the part of Clark to calm the disturbed and diverse elements of hostility.

But Colonel Clark was master of the situation. He reassured the French, advising Father Pierre Gibault, who for ten years had been the spiritual adviser and friend of the French Catholics, that they should in no wise be disturbed in their religion, for the Americans always allowed free worship, and he explained also the political situation and the causes of the American Revolution and told them of the recent friendly alliance between the United Colonies and France. They were convinced and appeased. Father Gibault became the warm and steadfast friend of Clark and the American nation. The French were persuaded to the side of the little invading host. Indeed the terror, created by the arrival of Clark, was turned to rejoicing and the French dwellers at the Kaskaskia British post, willingly took the oath of allegiance to the new American Republic. Greater tact was required to keep the Indians in check. This was accomplished by plausible speeches and the presentation of such gifts as the soldiers could spare from their meagre possessions.

Some seventy miles above Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River was the ancient village of Cahokia, consisting of a hundred families, mostly French or Creole, and the center and rallying point of many Indian tribes, all friendly to England, strongly impregnated with hostility to the Virginia Long Knives. While Clark remained in Kaskaskia to thoroughly complete his bloodless occupation of that post, he detailed Captain Joseph Bowman, with thirty mounted men,—the Kaskaskians supplying the Indian ponies—to proceed to Cahokia and place it under the American flag.

Bowman wrote a very succinct account of this detour. The smaller settlements of Prairie du Rocher, fifteen miles from Kaskaskia, and St. Phillips, nine miles higher up, unhesitatingly capitulated to the dashing surprise of Bowman's cavalcade. Cahokia promptly responded to the demand for a surrender and Bowman, leaving squads of his cavalrymen to hold the posts he so easily secured, reported the success of his detour to Clark, who then wrote, in his memoir, "Post St. Vincent, a town about the size of Williamsburg was the next object in my view."

This stockaded settlement, known as Vincennes, was next to Detroit, the greatest stronghold of England in the Northwest. It was, however, at this time, almost exclusively inhabited by the French, its original settlers. Father Pierre Gibault, now the trusty adherent of Clark and the Virginians, believed he could proceed to Vincennes, with a few civilian companions, and peacefully induce the people of that post to deliver the little fort—called Sackville—and its surrounding huts into the hands of the Americans.

Clark implicitly accepted Gibault's services as proposed, and the good Father, with a small escort,—including Simon Kenton as scout—reached Vincennes in a few days and diplomatically made known his peculiar errand. The few British subjects, naturally resisted the strange and bold proposal but being in a helpless minority, were allowed to leave the town, while the French inhabitants readily acceded to Gibault's plan and "all went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner," by the good Father Gibault.

The savages in and about Vincennes presented a more difficult problem. They must be reconciled, and were informed that their "Old Father," the French King, had come to life again. A Piankeshaw chief, known as the Big Gate or Big Door because through his influence he controlled the lower portion of the Wabash River, was lavishly complimented by Father Gibault and further placated by gifts. Big Door and his father, Old Tobacco, gathered their tribesmen for a "talk," which won their friendliness to the Gibault mission. By August 1st, Kenton, with dispatches from Clark, set out for Kentucky and Virginia. At the same time Father Gibault returned to Kaskaskia and reported the complete success of his unique errand. The American flag now floated over the fort of Vincennes to which Captain Leonard Helm and a handful of soldiers were sent to act as a protectory garrison.

Thus far Clark's advance and achievements seemed to be under the star of propitious fate. But the plucky colonel now faced a serious situation. He was master of a vast territory and many posts, with but a mere bagatelle of soldiers. They were hundreds of miles from home, weary, ill-fed, poorly clothed and uncertain of the future before them. Their term of service was up and they were determined to end it all and return to their Virginia homes. Clark knew the result of his singular victories depended on the continued service of his troops. By presents and promises he induced more than half the volunteers to re-enlist for eight months. The number consenting to remain with their doughty commander was not enough. His wits devised a plan to make good the deficiency. He announced

to the French dwellers in the posts, under his charge, that he must abandon them to their fate, that of desertion from England and consequent punishment therefor, unless they enter the ranks of his recruits and swell his army to the requisite strength. This logical plea was not in vain. The alarmed and adventurous young Creoles were at once anxious to take service and Clark commissioned some French officers and enrolled a sufficient number of the post dwellers to fill up all four companies to their original complement.

Clark now took up the more difficult and delicate task of pacifying the many Indian tribes, "the huge horde of savages," who roamed the forests from the Lakes to the Mississippi. He summoned the chiefs and their braves to Cahokia for a council. It was, he says, with astonishment, that he "viewed the amazing number of savages that soon flocked into the town of Cohos (Cahokia) to treat for peace and to hear what the Big Knives had to say." They came from all over the Illinois and Wabash country, some of them from a distance of five hundred miles; "Chipeways, Ottoways, Potowatomies, Misseogies, Puans, Sacks, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways, Maumies, and a number of other tribes, all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them at war against us."

But the "Washington of the West," was no novice in Indian experience; he knew the redmen and with well seasoned alertness and tried ability he dealt wisely with the wily and treacherous members of that forest assembly. Roosevelt draws the picture: "The straggling streets of the dismayed little town were

thronged with many hundreds of dark-browed, sullen-looking savages, grotesque in look and terrible in possibility; they strutted to and fro in their dirty finery, or lounged round the houses, inquisitive, importunate and insolent, hardly concealing a lust for bloodshed and plunder that the slightest mishap was certain to render ungovernable."

Indeed some of the bolder ones conspired to capture Clark and went so far as to surround his lodgings and attempt an entrance, when Clark, informed of the plot, instantly ordered the French militia to seize the conspirators and put them in irons. The affair created a great uproar in the town and no one could foretell the outcome should the Indians be generally aroused. Assuming a manner of perfect indifference to the danger, Clark summoned the tribesmen and defiantly denounced their cowardice and treachery, told them of the war between the Americans and the British and warned them of the dire results if they took up arms against the Long Knives. It was for the tribesmen to choose whether they would be friends or foes of the Americans. The warriors were over-awed and persuaded. In Clark they were dealing with a white antagonist, honest, just and fearless, whom they must at once fear and admire.

Clark's expedition had been so skilfully, so swiftly and so stealthily executed that its success was well nigh complete before the British authorities knew of it. Butterfield puts it, "Clark's success, thus far, extraordinary though it was, cannot be said to have been any display of military genius. * * * But there was one element in his success that the greatest and

wisest of generals do not fail to invoke as one of the most important factors in military science—and that was secrecy— * * * it was the secrecy which he so completely maintained as to the real object of his undertaking, that, in the end, insured his triumph."

It was not until the 8th of August, that a French missionary reached Detroit with the startling announcement that the American "rebels" had invaded the Illinois country, captured Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and many smaller posts and were then approaching Vincennes. Hamilton hurried the news to Captain de Peyster, commandant at Michilimackinac, to Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton at Niagara, and to Governor Guy Carleton at Quebec. The decision was not delayed that the American soldiers must be dislodged from the Illinois and Wabash country and the Indians set upon the war-path to devastate the frontier settlements.

The latter part of June (1778) Sir Frederick Haldimand succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as Governor-General of Canada. Haldimand was a Swiss soldier of fortune, who in 1756, with his friend and countryman, Henry Bouquet, came to the British colonies in America. He remained and distinguished himself in the British service. He was a man of great ability and unusual austerity of temperament. It was a long distance from Quebec to Detroit and the news of this gubernatorial change was many weeks in reaching Hamilton, who meantime was incessant in his policy of holding the western tribesmen steadfast to England, and indefatigable in his efforts to send forth marauding parties to the frontiers.

It was late in June that Hamilton called a great council, at Detroit, of all the western tribes. It proved to be one of the largest ever held in the West; nearly seventeen hundred Indians, warriors and their wives and children, encamped about the fort. Eight of the leading western tribes were represented and from Ohio came Hurons, Miamis, Mingoes and even Delawares. There were many prominent Canadian officers, among whom mingled Alexander McKee, so lately fled from Fort Pitt. The speeches of the Indian orators were all reassuring; the tie of friendship was tightened; the war-songs reverberated along the river bank and the war-dance raised the warriors to a high pitch of excitement. In his account, Hamilton wrote (June 17): "Some Delawares are this day arrived, who are desirous of showing their intention of joining their brethren, and have presented me two pieces of dried meat (scalps); one of which, I have given to the Chippewas, the other to the Miamis, that they may show in their villages the disposition of the Delawares." Butterworth adds: "There is no possibility of mistaking this brutality; nor can it be denied that the Lieutenant-Governor, by this deed placed himself upon record as acting in a manner at once barbarous and bloodthirsty."

The voluminous correspondence between Hamilton and Carleton and Haldimand sufficiently establishes the knowledge, consent and even direction, of the British authorities to the Indian atrocities, inflicted upon the Americans, at the instigation of Hamilton. This subject has created not a little acrimonious controversy. The British historians, as would be

expected, deny the participation or even sanction of the governmental authorities in the bloody deeds of their allies, the savages. This denial is echoed by a few Anglo-maniac American writers. But the facts of history reveal the truth. Says Mr. John R. Spears in his "History of the Mississippi Valley:" "Any attempt to gloss over, or palliate this matter—the British use of the Indians—even though done to promote international harmony, is but a form of foolish lying; and no good can be promoted by a lie." Winsor, Fiske and Roosevelt, treat this subject without reservation and give their witnesses. The unvarnished truth is that "the British authorities from the King down through the ministers, and the local rulers, to the Tory partisans, deliberately approved the use of Indians," and they approved the most diabolical use of these unrestrained brutes.

Much stress is laid, by the American apologists for the British, upon the fact that Lord Germain and even Sir Haldimand in their instructions to Hamilton, while urging the arming and sending forth of the Indians to slaughter and pillage, requested the Detroit commandant to admonish the savages, in their assaults upon the American "rebels," to treat leniently the children and the aged! Infuriate the war passions of the redmen, sharpen their tomahawks and scalping knives, but tell them to use some discretion in butchering their victims! And this is soberly set forth, by some American writers, as atoning for the British policy in employing the tribesmen to devastate the frontiers. Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," puts it thus: "Hamilton and his subordinates, both

red and white, were engaged in what was essentially an effort to exterminate the borderers; it was a war of extermination waged with appalling and horrible cruelty; it brings out in bold relief the fact that in the West the War of the Revolution was an effort on the part of Great Britain to stop the westward growth of the English race in America and to keep the region beyond the Alleghenies as a region where only savages should dwell." Mr. William H. English in his scholarly and exhaustive history of Clark's campaign, closes his discussion on this topic with the conclusion: "the evidence is now positive that Hamilton first proposed to the higher authorities that the raids (Indian) be made and the higher authorities ordered them made upon Hamilton's suggestion."

In the first official letter, written by Lord George Germain to Guy Carleton (March 26, 1777), ordering the raids to be made, he advises that the Indians be restrained "from committing violence on well affected and inoffensive inhabitants," which meant the Tories and British partisans, a list of the leading ones being enclosed with his advice. In a letter to Carleton from Hamilton, the latter speaking of the "falling upon the scattered settlers by the warrior parties," makes the significant remark, that the Americans through "their arrogance, disloyalty, and impudence had justly drawn upon them this deplorable sort of war."

Hamilton, the "hair-buyer" was indeed the plotter and instigator of the damnable barbarities committed by the Indians upon the American "rebels," but it was all done with full knowledge, and therefore guilty complicity of, the Governor-General of Canada and

the Cabinet-Secretary Sir George Germain. These Indian outrages fill the foulest and bloodiest pages in the history of the shame of England.

As soon as possible (October 8) Hamilton set out from Detroit with a mixed force, about equally composed of British regulars, Canadian militiamen and volunteer Indians, some two hundred all told. In fifteen boats, with food, clothing, ammunition and a quantity of presents, Hamilton dropped down the Detroit River, thence glided thirty miles across the corner of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Maumee, up which he pushed his transports, arriving at the "Miami Town"—site of Fort Wayne—after a two weeks' journey. Here several bands of Indians were met and united to the expedition, which was further recruited by a captain and some forty British regulars.

From the headwaters of the Maumee to the Little River, a headstream of the Wabash, was a portage of nine miles; the boats and baggage were carried over in "ten carts and six carriages." It was a heavy and tedious lift, but the reëmbarkation was accomplished and the water route resumed on the Wabash—then called Ouabache—down which the progress was slow, being beset with difficulties and obstacles. At every Indian village, it was necessary to stop and cajole the warriors, who continued to recruit Hamilton's train until it numbered five hundred in all, about four-fifths being savages.

At last the Wea village—alluded to in previous pages as Ouiatanon—was reached. Here many of the Wabash chiefs who had professed friendship for Clark at the Cahokia conference, awaited Hamilton

and promptly tendered him their allegiance. This was strictly in harmony with the flexible character of the noble redman. By the middle of December (1778), seventy-one days after the departure from Detroit, Hamilton with his savage host and choice veterans from the King's Eight, reached Vincennes.

Captain Helm with less than fifty soldiers, only two of whom were Americans, was utterly unable to hold the town and fort, called Sackville, "a wretched, miserable stockade without a well, barrack, platform for small arms, or even lock to the gate." But the demand of surrender by Major Hay, the advance officer of Hamilton, brought the reply from Captain Helm that he would only yield with the honors of war. The terms were granted and the tradition is that Captain Helm, deserted by his French recruits, coolly marched out with the sole escort of two soldiers, one bearing aloft the American flag. It was a scene for a comedy, rather than an act in the "pomp and circumstance of war." Vincennes was again in the hands of the British and Hamilton required the inhabitants, some six hundred in all, to forswear the oath of allegiance to the American cause, and renew their fealty to Great Britain.

Hamilton restored the fort, erected blockhouses and embrasures and rested securely on his laurels, feeling no uneasiness over the situation, for he knew Clark's forces were paltry and widely scattered. In due time the British commander intended to move on to the towns occupied by Clark and retake them as he had Vincennes. Meanwhile he sent back to Detroit most

of the Canadian militia and allowed the Indians to drift back to their villages for the winter.

But in Clark, the self-sufficient Hamilton had an antagonist, whose alertness, daring and indomitable energy "raised him head and shoulders above every other frontier leader." The moment Clark learned of Hamilton's occupation of Vincennes, he resolved to retrieve the loss. He marshalled his land forces into three companies, officered respectively by Captains Richard M'Carty, John Williams and Francis Charleville, the latter a Frenchman with a company of Kaskaskians. Major John Bowman was made second in command of the army which was augmented by a "navy," consisting of "a large boat prepared and rigged, mounting two four-pounders, four large swivels, and manned by forty-six soldiers commanded by Lieutenant John Rogers." This backwoods-built "gun boat," christened the "Willing," was loaded with supplies, launched at Kaskaskia and rowed down that river to the Mississippi, thence to be propelled up the Ohio and the Wabash to a designated point below Vincennes.

Meanwhile, on February 5, 1779, one day after the "Willing" cast her moorings for her voyage, Colonel Clark, with the blessing of Father Gibault set forth with his little army of one hundred and seventy, overland, a tramp of two hundred and fifty miles, for Vincennes. It was a terrible conflict, not with the enemy, but the elements; the streams were swollen, the ground water-soaked, sleet and snow covered the ground and the rains were frequent, while the cold winds of winter multiplied their sufferings.

The fatigues, hardships and privations of those plucky, persistent and patriotic soldiers are not surpassed by the annals of any similar expedition in history. The immortal veterans of Napoleon on their march to Moscow, deserve not praise greater than that merited by the frontier heroes of Colonel Clark.

For three weeks this little invading host followed the "Vincennes trace," wading the creeks and swamps, sleeping in frost-coated blankets on frozen ground; they carried no provisions, relying for food on the wild forest game, which the bleak, ice-ridden winter had made scarce and uncertain; benumbed with cold, their clothes water soaked they unfalteringly struggled on. Roosevelt admirably abbreviates Clark's journal: "Of course he and the other officers shared every hardship and led in every labor. He encouraged the men to hunt game; and to 'feast on it like Indian war-dancers,' each company in turn inviting the others to the smoking and plentiful banquets. One day they saw great herds of buffaloes and killed many of them. They had no tents; but at nightfall they kindled huge camp-fires, and spent the evenings merrily round the piles of blazing logs, in hunter fashion, feasting on bear's ham, buffalo hump, elk saddle, venison haunch, and the breast of the wild turkey, some singing of love and the chase and war, and others dancing after the manner of the French trappers and wood-runners."

On February 17th, Major Bowman's diary recites: "About an hour by sun we got near the river Embarrass found the country all overflowed with water. We strove to find the Wabash, traveling till eight o'clock

(at night) in mud and water, but could find no place to encamp on. Still kept marching on. After some time, Mr. Kennedy and his party returned. Found it impossible to cross Embarrass river. We found the water fallen from a small spot of ground; stayed there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and damp weather. And 18th. At break of day heard Governor Hamilton's morning gun; set off and marched down the river. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash. Made rafts for four men to cross and then up to town and steal boats, but they spent a day and night in the water to no purpose and there was not one foot of dry land to be found. 19th. Captain M'Carty's company made a canoe which was sent down the river to meet the batteau [the Willing] with orders to come on day and night that being our last hope and we starving. No provisions of any sort for two days."

Five days later, after "one of the coldest nights we had," the little column plunged waist deep through a swamp, to dry land, many of the men so weak they had to be supported by companions and literally lifted out of the water. They stood, half starved, half frozen, before the bastion of Fort Sackville. Like so many spectres from the bleak forests they suddenly emerged to the astonished Hamilton who was totally unapprised of their approach. Indeed the surprise of the "hair-buyer" must have been akin to that which shook with fear the bloody Macbeth when told of the approach of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane, for the wily Virginian leader so deployed his eight score soldiers and wheeled them right and left and

up and down on the rolling ridges before the Sackville fort that their number was many times multiplied in appearance. Clark supplemented this ruse with the bravado of Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga, and sent a written proclamation to the people of Vincennes, demanding immediate surrender and renewal of their allegiance to American authority. The demand was repelled and the next day the columns were formed in attack array, the drums were beaten and the firing upon the stockade begun. Portions of the attacking force entered the town at unprotected points.

Once in the town, the invading "rebels" received immediate aid from the friendly French, with whom Hamilton's domination had been far from popular; the Creoles furnished Clark's soldiers ammunition, and the Piankeshaw "Big Door," promptly gathered his warriors and offered them as allies to the Americans. The siege, a desultory fusilade, continued all night, during which the occupation of the town was made complete, but the fort still held out. By noon, however, of the second day, the British garrison, seeing the inevitable result of the attack, began to negotiate for terms of capitulation. There was much parleying back and forth, but it ended in the surrender of the seventy-nine soldiers under Hamilton, who in reporting his defeat to his superiors, acknowledged his chagrin in being compelled to yield "to a set of uncivilized Virginian backwoodsmen armed with rifles."

Hamilton and his principal officers were sent as prisoners to Williamsburg, where he was later paroled, at the request of Washington. The French citizens of this much-captured Vincennes were again sworn

to the American cause. It was their third change of allegiance in a few months, during which time they must have become adepts in the exercise of oath taking.

Clark had hoped to push on to Detroit and seize the western capital of the British, but his force was too depleted and his soldiers too exhausted to be urged to further efforts. The completion of Clark's plans must be deferred. But he had practically achieved his purpose. His conquest of the West had pre-empted for the Americans, that vast country and prevented its rich valleys and rolling plains from becoming the rendezvous of British troops and the arena for the centralization and confederation of Indian tribes, which might drive the Americans beyond the Ohio and save the Northwest to England.

Clark had won for the new republic a territory, many times the extent of New England. He was duly complimented by the Virginia legislature, which on March 10, 1779, passed an act organizing the Illinois country into the County of Illinois; and legislation followed providing for the establishment of a county government with its seat at Vincennes and Colonel John Todd, Jr., was named as Lieutenant or Commandant of the county, with a force of five hundred militia, which was "to march immediately into said county to garrison forts and protect said county," and exclude the British and hold the tribesmen in check.

Such was the romantic struggle and heroic triumph of George Rogers Clark;—had it not been for his conquest of Illinois, the surrender of Yorktown would have been robbed of more than half its significance and glory.

Chapter X.

McINTOSH BUILDS FORT LAURENS

IT will be recalled that the autumn, winter and spring of 1777-8 was the period of the low ebb of the Colonial cause. Howe's victory at Brandywine gave him the possession of Philadelphia. The encounter at Germantown a month later added to the discomfiture and discouragement of the American army. Washington led his defeated and depleted troops to the barren banks of the Schuylkill, where they took up their quarters amid the snow and ice of Valley Forge, only twenty miles away from the luxurious city lodgings of Howe. The fate of the new nation seemed all but doomed. Howe was exultantly awaiting the cheery season of spring before pouncing upon Washington to annihilate the remnant of the "ragamuffin army" of the rash rebel general.

Then it was that the hope and effort of independence looked to a new field in the Ohio country. The war drama is transferred to the trans-Allegheny stage. The western headquarters of the British, at Detroit, held the key to the vast northwestern territory, the retention of which was so necessary to British success. In the autumn of 1777, the "hair-buying" commander at Detroit, summoned the tribesmen to a council and inaugurated that policy of sending into the Ohio country bands of savages augmented by Canadian soldiers and commanded by British officers, to plunder and massacre the American settlers. It was to be a guerrilla warfare of bloody and merciless annihilation.

It was in the late spring of 1778—while Washington was just emerging from Valley Forge—that George Rogers Clark entered upon his daring expedition to save the Northwest to the Colonies. Meanwhile

rumors reached Fort Pitt that a great Indian expedition would advance on that post, and the Continental Congress determined to act on the offensive and "carry the war into Africa"—into the head centers of the Ohio Indians.

The rumors of the Indian advance were made good by the unsuccessful attack, in February (1778), of two hundred Shawnees, upon Fort Randolph, a bold attempt to avenge, upon the very scene of its occurrence, the treacherous murder of their leader Cornstalk. But the assault was unavailing. At the very same time General Edward Hand, learning that the British had a quantity of stores—consisting of arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing—gathered in the Delaware town on the Cuyahoga for the purpose of supporting the savages in their incursions into the border settlements, decided to effect their destruction. With a force of some five hundred backwoodsmen, General Hand proceeded upon his errand; among his men was Simon Girty, this being the only time, says Butterfield, in which "he ever marched against the foe under the American flag." He doubtless acted as guide for the general. The destination of the party was about one hundred miles from Fort Pitt.

At "a point a considerable distance above the mouth of the Beaver, on the Mahoning river," the cautiously advancing force reached the site of an Indian camp, "supposed to contain between fifty and sixty Indians." "But to my great mortification," wrote the commander, "only one man, with some women and children, was found." The Indian and one of the squaws were killed, one squaw captured, "and with difficulty saved,"

who reported that the Munsey Indians were making salt about ten miles further up the Mahoning. A small detachment under Girty, was sent to secure them. The result of the detour of this capturing band proved more inglorious than the first. The enemy "turned out to be four women and a boy," wrote Hand, "of whom only one woman was saved." "In performing these great exploits," the general ironically recites, "I had but one man—a captain—wounded and one drowned." The "exploits" were not continued as the melting snows and falling rains prevented further progress and the disgusted general led his cavalcade, for his "soldiers" were mounted, back to Fort Pitt, having thus "accomplished" the first Ohio expedition in the American Revolution, an expedition which was thereafter known as the "Squaw Campaign."

Stirring events followed the Squaw Campaign. Less than a month after the return of General Hand to Fort Pitt, the renegade trio, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Mathew Elliott, deserted the Colonial cause and joined the enemy. On the other hand Captain White Eyes and John Killbuck, the Delaware chiefs, made report to Pittsburg of their visit to Detroit, the previous December. They stated the British forces under the command of Hamilton, were too few to cause the Americans any uneasiness.

It was this same month (March) that Daniel Sullivan returned and made report of his "spying" experience at Detroit. Sullivan had been employed the year before (1777) by the State of Virginia, to act as a spy in the Indian country. He was well qualified for the service. He had lived nine years as a captive boy

among the Delaware tribesmen. He coveted not his release, made in 1773, for he had become so attached to the Indian life, he preferred it to any other. He therefore readily entered (April, 1777) upon General Morgan's scheme to send him to Detroit attired in the garb of an Indian. Sullivan joined a fur trader and in a batteau coasted from the mouth of the Cuyahoga to Detroit, a water journey of eight days. As a pretended friendly savage he met General Hamilton, became fully informed of the British strength and the policy of the commander to induce the Indians, by payment of high prices for all scalps, to massacre the white frontiersmen. Sullivan, however, was, after a time, identified by a son of "the notorious banditti chief" Pluggy, who betrayed the spy to Hamilton.

Sullivan was arrested and in irons sent to Quebec, whence later he was conducted with other prisoners to New York, and there released on parole. His report at Fort Pitt, made about the time of the arrival of White Eyes and his companions, confirmed the statements of the Indians concerning the western situation. The Colonial commission for Indian affairs at once ordered six large boats to be built and equipped with a four pound cannon each, for the defense of the navigation between the military posts on the Ohio—a sort of patrolling navy.

In April (1778) the plan was revived of making an overwhelming invasion into the enemy's territory. The campaign was modeled after Dunmore's war, four years previous. The Continental troops could not be spared, for Washington was just planning to leave Valley Forge, and the forces for this expedition must

be forthcoming from the Virginia mountains, that region which was ever appealed to in the hour of need and which seemed inexhaustible in its resources for brave and ready fighters.

The force demanded was three thousand men; nine-tenths of whom were to come from the counties east of the Alleghenies. This army was to be in two divisions of fifteen hundred each; one division was to assemble and march through Greenbrier down the Big Kanawha to Fort Randolph; the other division was to assemble at Fort Pitt and in batteaux descend the Ohio to the former point, just designated, whence the united forces would cross the river, invade the interior and destroy the Indian towns and crops, and push on to Detroit. Hildreth, in his Pioneer History, gives the detailed figures in the estimate for the required provisions, live stock, to be driven along on foot, and the horses needed for the transportation; the latter were to number no less than 3,800 for the carrying of the flour alone and 236 additional pack horses for the salt. The whole expense of this expedition was estimated at over $600,000," not in depreciated paper currency, but in silver dollars or its equivalent," for the national paper money was well nigh worthless, as Washington put it about that time, a wagon load of Continental paper would not buy a wagon load of provisions.

Congress—then a fugitive at York, Pa.—in May, endorsed this pretentious plan, voting to raise the men and to appropriate $900,000 for the necessary expense. This same month General Hand requested to be recalled from Pittsburg and be transferred to

the immediate command of Washington. He preferred scientific warfare to the dare-devil savagery of the West, although he hailed from Ireland and was a doughty fighter. His subsequent career was patriotic and eminent. Washington named as Hand's successor Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, "an officer of worth and merit," a Scotlander by birth (1727) and an American since 1736, when his parents settled in Georgia. Washington wrote Congress, from Valley Forge, "I part with this gentlemen with much reluctance. I know his services here are and will be materially wanted. His firm disposition and equal justice, his assiduity and good understanding, added to his being a stranger to all parties in that quarter [Fort Pitt and the West], pointed him out as a proper person; and I trust extensive advantages will be derived from his command, which I could wish was more agreeable. He will wait on Congress for their instructions."

Washington at the same time forwarded certain detachments of "regulars" to report at Fort Pitt; among these troops were sections of regiments under Colonel Daniel Brodhead—often spelled Broadhead—Colonel William Crawford, the personal friend of Washington, and Colonel John Gibson, he of Logan speech fame. In August, General McIntosh reached his quarters at Fort Pitt, but there was a suspension of the Ohio-Detroit campaign plans, which Washington, himself, helped perfect during his encampment at Valley Forge.

Meanwhile the Indian commissioners proposed to Congress that a treaty with the Indians be held at Pittsburg as soon as the Ohio tribes could be notified.

It was September 17th before the parties met for conference. Andrew Lewis and Thomas Lewis represented Virginia. Messengers carrying the usual persuasive presents had been dispatched to the Delaware, Shawnee and some other tribes. It was especially desirable that the Americans get permission from the Delawares to march through the latter's territory on the way to Detroit.

The Shawnees refused to accept the invitation to the conference. The Delawares—still proving friendly to the Americans—alone appeared, being represented by their three principal chiefs, Captain White Eyes, Captain Pipe and John Killbuck, Jr. The attendance of this tribe was the more to the credit of the loyalty and bravery of the Delawares, as the British were sparing no effort to secure their alliance; Hamilton had even gone so far as to send messengers from Detroit to Gnaddenhutten, commanding the Moravian missionaries to arm their Indians—mostly Delawares—and lead them against the "rebels" beyond the Ohio, whom they were indiscriminately to attack, and slay without mercy; and bring the scalps to Detroit. Threats were added, that if the Moravians refused to obey this infamous bequest of the British, the latter would regard them as enemies and treat them accordingly.

At this Pittsburg meeting, however, a treaty was signed by which the American army was to be permitted to pass over the Delaware domains and be allowed to erect a post therein, and the Delawares even agreed to furnish, for the American army, "such a number of their best and most expert warriors, as they could

spare, consistent with their own safety." In this treaty—the first treaty ever made by the United States and an Indian tribe—White Eyes, says one writer, displayed the qualities of a statesman, for the sixth article of this treaty read: "It is further agreed on and between the contracting parties, should it for the future be found conducive for the mutual interest of both parties, to invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interests of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representative in Congress."

White Eyes then dreamed of an Indian State in the confederated American Union; but his dream was of short duration, for only a month after this treaty, this chief who had offered his services to McIntosh, died from smallpox, that dread disease that made such fearful havoc among the red race. His taking off was at Tuscarawas, the Delaware capital on the Muskingum. De Schweinitz, the biographer of Zeisberger, pays a fitting tribute to the departed chief: "White Eyes was one of the greatest and best of the later Indians * * * where his remains are resting no man knows; the plowshare has often furrowed his grave. But his name lives; and the Christian may hope that in the resurrection of the just, he too, will be found among the great multitude, redeemed out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation."

The place of the burial of White Eyes, however, seems to be in dispute. Brodhead wrote from Pittsburg, (June 22, 1779) to the Delawares, expressing sorrow over the death of White Eyes, saying "he was

an honest man, a great counselor and very good man," and he (Brodhead) was grieved for the loss of his wise and good counsel. Brodhead adds, "I buried him in the firm place and put a shade over the grave to keep the rain storms and sun off." But he does not indicate the location of the burial place.

Butterfield says that White Eyes was buried at Pittsburg, but this must be an error, as the statement of his death at Tuscarawas is from the manuscript of Zeisberger, who certainly knew, and the body, especially as the death was from a contagious disease, could not have been borne to Pittsburg. Heckewelder has it that White Eyes died "while accompanying General McIntosh's army to Tuscarawas." It probably occurred at Tuscarawas after the army arrived there. The death of White Eyes, who, though unbaptized, had stood so faithfully and fearlessly for the Moravians, was a great blow to their missions, for Killbuck was a weak supporter, while Large Cat—more often called Big Cat—was an enemy of the converts of Zeisberger.

The death of this great and useful man was severely lamented by and a great loss to the nation; and although his ambitious and political opponent, Captain Pipe, with an air of prophesy, uttered; "the Great Spirit had probably put him out of the way that the nation (Delaware) might be saved;" it was not so considered by the faithful post. His death was announced to all the surrounding nations, who all condoled the Delawares on the loss.

The directing of the Delaware nation now devolved upon three chiefs, Gelelemund, known as Killbuck; Machingwe—Puschis, or Large Cat and Tetepachski.

Killbuck and Large Cat kept up a lively correspondence with Colonel Brodhead, then commandant at Fort McIntosh and with Colonel George Morgan, the Indian agent. Captain Pipe, heretofore inclined to the English side and probably at this very time under pay of Hamilton as a spy, continued his intrigues to deceive his people and play them into the hands of the British.

General McIntosh now blazed a roadway from Pittsburg to Beaver Creek, where just below its mouth on the east bank of the Ohio, he built, with the aid of five hundred men, who accompanied him, a stockade post, with picket enclosure and four bastions, defended by six pieces of artillery. He called it Fort McIntosh and it was to be the "covering point" of the projected campaign, and to this post the headquarters of the army were transferred from Fort Pitt.

The preparations for the expedition moved slowly, the want of necessary supplies, the price of which had greatly risen, prevented an immediate departure. The Greenbrier-Kanawha division of the army was never assembled and the original plans of the expedition were abandoned. But early in November alarming intelligence reached General McIntosh from the western wilderness that all the Ohio Indians were about to unite on the Tuscarawas to oppose his progress, it being understood by them that Detroit was the objective point of his march. Orders, by the commander, were immediately issued for twelve hundred men to prepare for the expedition.

The contingent set forth on November 5th and, after a fourteen days' tedious march, over the same route

pursued by Colonel Henry Bouquet in 1764, a distance of seventy miles was covered, bringing the army to the Tuscarawas. It was at this point, or near it, that the soldiers expected to encounter the Indian forces and give them battle; "but only a few Delawares from Coshocton and some Moravian Indians met them and they were friendly." It was here that McIntosh learned that the winter supplies he had expected from the East had not reached Fort McIntosh and hence his base of relief was unavailing and he was reluctantly compelled to abandon his cherished plan of reaching and reducing Fort Detroit, the capture of which was still his ambition.

That his efforts might not, however, be entirely without results, he decided to build upon the Tuscarawas a strong stockade and leave as many men as provisions would permit to protect it until the next spring. Such a military post would at least act as a barrier to the further eastern encroachments of the Indians and would be another defensive milestone in the westward progress of the Colonists.

The site selected for this post was close to that upon which Colonel Bouquet had erected one in his expedition fourteen years earlier. It was on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, below the mouth of Sandy Creek, something more than a mile south of the present village of Bolivar. The usual approach to it from Fort McIntosh was from the mouth of Yellow Creek and down the Sandy, which latter stream heads with the former and puts off into the Tuscarawas, just above the fort site. The entire force was employed in the erection of the stockade, which was a regular

rectangular fortification, enclosing less than an acre of land. This, the first fort erected by Americans within the present Ohio state boundaries, was named Fort Laurens in honor of the President of Congress.

The fort partially completed, McIntosh, leaving (December 9th) a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, a part of the 13th Virginia regiment, with scanty supplies, under Colonel John Gibson, returned to Fort McIntosh, where the militia under his command were discharged "precipitately." After the departure of McIntosh and the main army, Colonel Gibson continued the work upon the fortification. "I have already finished setting up the pickets," he wrote before the close of the month, "and in a few days I think I can bid defiance to the enemy." "The distressed condition of the men," he continued, "prevents the work from going on as briskly as it otherwise would." Meanwhile he opened negotiations with the friendly Delawares at Coshocton (Goschochgung).

To the hostile tribes, this placement of Fort Laurens in the enemy's country, by McIntosh, who then retreated to his headquarters on the Ohio, was "like poking a bumble-bee's nest and then running away," for the savages came swarming out of the woods from every direction like so many angry insects.

Here temporarily we leave the little stockade and its brave band of defenders,—who knew how to endure hardship and suffering, for they belonged to the 13th Virginia Continental, and had been with Washington at Valley Forge,—while we pick up the thread of the career of Simon Girty, who is to be a conspicuous

figure in the coming attack on Fort Laurens; recounting at the same time the exploits of his more noted associates.

Simon Girty's desertion from Fort Pitt, as already noted, was in March of this year (1778). In June, he, with his companions, McKee and Elliott, after leaving the Shawnee towns and passing en route through the Wyandot villages of the Sandusky River, arrived at Detroit, where he became a well compensated agent of the British, as interpreter and guide. He took part in the Indian councils, summoned by Hamilton, and was a forceful instigator and director of savage marauding expeditions. McKee's services received hearty recognition and Elliott's services were similarly employed in a less degree. James Girty likewise engaged in the British service and often coöperated with his brother, Simon.

The main fields of activity of these renegade recruits were among the Mingoes and the Shawnees, whose centers lay between Detroit and Pittsburg. The villages of the Mingoes, at this time, lay along the Scioto, from the mouth of the Olentangy to its headwaters, while some were located on the upper waters of the Mad River. There were two principal routes from Detroit to the Mingo country, one down the Detroit River and across the head of Lake Erie to the Sandusky Bay, thence up the Sandusky River and across the portage to the waters of the Scioto; another ran around the west end of the lake, crossing the Maumee, and leading thence to the Mingo towns.

The Shawnees occupied a more extensive region. Their villages were not only on the lower Scioto, but

west of that on the Big and Little Miamis, with several in the Mad River region. The routes to them from Detroit were but continuations of those to the Mingo towns. Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," locates the Shawnees or portions of them on the Sandusky River, but there were very few, if any, Shawnees on the Sandusky or any of its tributaries.

Chapter XI.

CAPTIVITY OF SIMON KENTON

SIMON KENTON was at this time and had been since 1771, when he was sixteen years of age, living under the assumed name of Simon Butler. The use of this fictitious surname had its origin in the result of an encounter between Kenton and an associate, while the former was a resident of the county of Fauquier, Virginia, during the year above noted. It was a fisticuff fight growing out of a love affair. Kenton, in ring parlance, knocked out his antagonist and left him for dead, though he had no intention of effecting so fatal—as he supposed—a result. The victim recovered but not until after Kenton, fearing for his life, had fled. He assumed the name Butler and took refuge at Fort Pitt, where he met Simon Girty and between them a mutual friendship was formed. Girty had not then revealed the yellow streak in his nature. Kenton typified the noblest class of backwoodsmen. Over six feet in height, possessed of a "stout heart and a robust set of limbs," with the strength and alertness of a trained athlete, fearless almost beyond compare, cool and quick-witted, he was extraordinarily adapted to the backwoods life he led. He was honest to a fault, loyal and steadfast to his friends and their cause. We cannot follow the fascinating details of Kenton's experiences, which have been related at length in McClung's "Biographical Sketches" (1832) and McDonald's "Sketches of Western Adventure" (1838). These works are now classics in pioneer literature and portray history at first hand, for the authors personally knew many of the characters concerning whom they wrote.

We saw Kenton as a guide for Dunmore in the latter's Ohio invasion. He was with Captain Crawford when the later destroyed the Mingo towns on the Scioto. We saw him among the earliest settlers of Kentucky, where he met and became attached, in ties of companionship, to Daniel Boone; they were similar heroes in character and career, and associated in the beginnings of Boonesborough and Harrodsburg and in the struggles of the Transylvania company. As scout, he was with George Rogers Clark in the early part of the Illinois campaign and after the capture of Kaskaskia was dispatched by his commander to the Kentucky settlements with the news of Clark's success.

Kenton arrived at Harrodsburg from Kaskaskia, shortly after Boone had reached his home in Boonesborough, following his escape from the Ohio Indians as related heretofore. Restless and adventurous, these two backwoodsmen were ever ready for a game hunt in the wild forest or a venture on the warpath. They at once, in the summer of 1778, concerted an expedition against a small town on Paint Creek, not far from the present site of Chillicothe. With a party of nineteen, chosen from the Boonesborough garrison, they crossed the Ohio and proceeded part way to Paint Creek when they were surprised and attacked by a band of Indians superior in number. Further progress was useless and Boone and his followers, except Kenton and a companion, returned safely to Boonesborough, arriving in time to take part in the siege of that post. Kenton and his comrade remained in the Shawnee country long enough to capture two horses each, with which, by a rapid night's travel, they crossed the Ohio and got beyond danger of pursuit.

SIMON KENTON

Born, Fauquier County, Va., 1755. Famous Indian trader, and backwoodsman. Scout in armies of Dunmore, Clark and Wayne. Present at the battle of the Thames. Died and buried at Zanestown, Logan County, in 1836. Later his body was moved to the cemetery at Urbana, where a monument marks his grave. From a painting made near the close of his life.

of the Transylvania company. As scout, he was with George Rogers Clark in the early part of the Illinois campaign and after the capture of Kaskaskia was dispatched by his commander to the Kentucky settlements with the news of Clark's success.

Kenton arrived at Harrodsburg from [illegible] shortly after Boone had reached his home in Boonesborough, following his escape from the Ohio Indians as related heretofore. Restless and adventurous these two backwoodsmen were ever ready for a [illegible] against a small town on Paint Creek, not far from the present site of Chillicothe. With a party of [illegible] from the Boonesborough station, they crossed the Ohio and proceeded part way to Paint Creek when they were surprised and attacked by a band of Indians superior in number. Further progress was useless and Boone and his followers [illegible] part in the siege of that post. Kenton and his comrade remained in the Shawnee country long enough to capture [illegible] they crossed the Ohio and got beyond danger of pursuit.

Kenton now impatiently abided an opportunity for another sortie into the country of the Shawnees, who were the most restless and harassing enemies of the white settlers. The opportunity came early in September (1778), when Colonel John Bowman, of Harrodsburg, ordered him to take two trusty companions and go on a secret embassy to Chillicothe (Oldtown), an Indian center on the Little Miami, against which Colonel Bowman was contemplating an attack and the condition of which he desired to learn. Kenton accompanied by two aids, named George Clark and Alexander Montgomery, respectively, immediately set out and stealthily and successfully reached his destination. In the night, the desired observations were made and the three were about to start on their return, when they stumbled upon a pound in which were a number of Indian horses. "The temptation was too great, and each mounted a horse and led off another." They dashed with all speed to the Ohio, which they reached after a ride of two days, at the mouth of Eagle Creek.

Meanwhile the redmen had sprung from their wigwams and followed in hot pursuit. The purloined horses balked at the banks of the Ohio, the waters of which were high and boisterous. A day's delay in attempting to cross, proved the doom of the party. The Indian pursuers were upon them. Clark escaped; Montgomery was shot and scalped; Kenton was too great a prize to be killed, and after a desperate struggle with several assailants, who beat him with their ramrods, the intrepid scout was made prisoner. Night was upon them and that Kenton might not get away

the captors thus secured him: "They passed a stout stick at right angles across his breast, to each extremity of which his wrists were fastened by thongs made of buffalo hide. Stakes were then driven into the earth near his feet, to which they were fastened in a similar manner. A halter was then tied around his neck and fastened to a sapling which grew near and then a strong rope was passed under his body, lashed strongly to the pole which lay transversely on his breast, and finally wrapped around his arms at the elbows in such a manner as to pinion them to the pole with a painful violence, and render him literally incapable of moving hand, foot, or head in the slightest manner. During the whole of this operation neither their hands nor their tongues were by any means idle. They cuffed him from time to time with great heartiness, until his ears rang again, and abused him for a 'tief,' a hoss steal, a rascal, and finally for a 'd——d white man.'

"Kenton remained in this painful attitude throughout the night, looking forward to certain death, and most probably, torture, as soon as he should reach their town. Their rage against him seemed to increase rather than abate, from indulgence, and in the morning it displayed itself in a form at once ludicrous and cruel."

When they were ready to set off the next morning, they selected the wildest horse in the company, an unbroken colt, and lashed their prisoner, Mazeppa-like, thereon. Let the story be continued by McDonald, who personally knew Kenton and from him learned and "in his presence" wrote (1830)—Kenton died in 1836—the incident herewith repeated: "The horse being very restive, it took several of them to hold

him, whilst the others lashed the prisoner on the horse. They first took a tug, or rope, and fastened his legs and feet together under the horse. They took another and fastened his arms. They took another and tied around his neck, and fastened one end of it around the horse's neck; the other end of this same rope was fastened to the horse's tail, to answer in place of a crupper. They had a great deal of amusement to themselves, as they were preparing Kenton and his horse for fun and frolic. They would yelp and scream around him, and ask him if he wished to steal more horses. Another rope was fastened around his thighs, and lashed around the body of the horse; a pair of moccasins was drawn over his hands, to prevent him from defending his face from the brush. Thus accoutered and fastened, the horse was turned loose to the woods. He reared and plunged, ran through the woods for some time, to the infinite amusement of the Indians. The Indians moved towards Chillicothe, and in three days reached the town. At night they confined their prisoner in the following manner: He was laid on his back, his legs extended, drawn apart, and fastened to two saplings or stakes driven in the ground. His arms were extended, a pole laid across his breast, and his arms lashed to the pole with cords. A rope was tied around his neck, and stretched back just tight enough not to choke him, and fastened to a tree or stake near his head. In this painful and uncomfortable situation, he spent three miserable nights, exposed to gnats, and mosquitoes, and weather.

"On the third day they came within a few miles of Chillicothe. Here the party halted and dispatched

a messenger to inform the village of their arrival, in order, I suppose, to give them time to prepare for his reception. In a short time, Blackfish, one of their chiefs, arrived, and, regarding Kenton with a stern countenance, thundered out, in very good English, 'You have been stealing horses?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Did Captain Boone tell you to steal our horses?' 'No, sir; I did it of my own accord.' This frank confession was too irritating to be borne. Blackfish made no reply; but, brandishing a hickory switch which he held in his hand, he applied it so briskly to Kenton's naked back and shoulders as to bring the blood freely and occasion acute pain.

"When the Indians came within about a mile of the Chillicothe town, they halted and camped for the night, and fastened the poor unfortunate prisoner in the usual uncomfortable manner. The Indians, young and old, came from the town to welcome the return of their successful warriors, and to visit their prisoner. The Indian party, young and old, consisting of about one hundred and fifty, commenced dancing, singing, and yelling around Kenton, stopping occasionally and kicking and beating him for amusement. In this manner they tormented him for about three hours, when the cavalcade returned to town, and he was left for the rest of the night, exhausted and forlorn, to the tender mercies of the gnats and mosquitoes. As soon as it was light in the morning, the Indians began to collect from the town, and preparations were made for fun and frolic at the expense of Kenton, as he was now doomed to run the gauntlet. The Indians formed in two lines, about six feet apart, with each a stick

in his hands, and Kenton placed between the two lines, so that each Indian could beat him as much as he thought proper, as he ran through the lines. He had not run far before he discovered an Indian with his knife drawn to plunge it into him; as soon as Kenton reached that part of the line where the Indian stood who had the knife drawn, he broke through the lines, and made with all speed for the town. Kenton had been previously informed by a negro named Caesar, who lived with the Indians and knew their customs, that if he could break through the Indians' lines, and arrive at the council-house in the town before he was overtaken, that they would not force him a second time to run the gauntlet. When he broke through their lines, he ran at the top of his speed for the council-house, pursued by two or three hundred Indians, yelling and screaming like infernal furies. Just as he had entered the town, he was met by an Indian leisurely walking towards the scene of amusement, wrapped in a blanket. The Indian threw off his blanket; as he was fresh, and Kenton nearly exhausted, the Indian soon caught him and threw him down. In a moment the whole party who were in pursuit came up, and fell to cuffing and kicking him at a most fearful rate. They tore off all his clothes, and left him naked and exhausted. After he had lain till he had in some degree recovered from his exhausted state, they brought him water and something to eat. As soon as his strength was sufficiently recovered, they took him to the council-house, to determine upon his fate. Their manner of deciding his fate, was as follows: Their warriors were placed in a circle in the council-house;

an old chief was placed in the center of the circle, with a knife and a piece of wood in his hands. A number of speeches were made. Kenton, although he did not understand their language, soon discovered by their animated gestures, and fierce looks at him, that a majority of their speakers were contending for his destruction. He could perceive that those who plead for mercy were received coolly; but few grunts of approbation were uttered when the orators closed their speeches. After the orators ceased speaking, the old chief who sat in the midst of the circle, raised up and handed a war-club to the man who sat next the door. They proceeded to take the decision of their court. All who were for the death of the prisoner, struck the war-club with violence against the ground; those who voted to save the prisoner's life, passed the club to their next neighbor without striking the ground. Kenton, from their expressive gestures, could easily distinguish the object of their vote. The old chief stood to witness and record the number that voted for death or mercy; as one struck the ground with the war-club, he made a mark on one side of his piece of wood; and when the club was passed without striking, he made a mark on the other. Kenton discovered that a large majority were for death.

"Sentence of death being now passed upon the prisoner, they made the welkin ring with shouts of joy. The sentence of death being passed, another question of considerable difficulty now presented itself to the consideration of the council; that was, the time and place, when and where, he should be burnt. The orators again made speeches on the

subject, less animated indeed than on the trial; but some appeared to be quite vehement for instant execution, whilst others appeared to wish to make his death a solemn national sacrifice. After a long debate, the vote was taken, when it was resolved that the place of his execution should be Wapatomika (now Zanesfield, Logan county). [This Wapatomika, also known as Wakatomica, etc., should be distinguished from the town of the same name situated on the Muskingum at the junction of the White Woman Creek or Walhonding.] The next morning he was hurried away to the place destined for his execution. From Chillicothe to Wapatomika, they had to pass through two other Indian towns, to-wit: Pickaway and Machecheek. At both towns he was compelled to run the gauntlet; and severely was he whipped through the course. While he lay at Machecheek, being carelessly guarded, he made an attempt to escape. Nothing worse than death could follow, and here he made a bold push for life and freedom. Being unconfined, he broke and ran, and soon cleared himself out of sight of his pursuers. Whilst he distanced his pursuers, and got about two miles from the town, he accidentally met some Indians on horseback. They instantly pursued, and soon came up with him, and drove him back again to the town. He now, for the first time, gave up his case as hopeless. Nothing but death stared him in the face. Fate, it appeared to him, had sealed his doom; and in sullen despair, he determined to await that doom, that it was impossible for him to shun.

"When the Indians returned with Kenton to the town, there was a general rejoicing. He was pinioned, and given over to the young Indians, who dragged him into the creek, tumbled him in the water, and rolled him in the mud, till he was nearly suffocated with mud and water. In this way they amused themselves with him till he was nearly drowned. He now thought himself forsaken by God. Shortly after this his tormentors moved with him to Wapatomika."

At this point we permit McClung to take up the narrative: "Here [Wapatomika] he was again compelled to run the gauntlet, in which he was severely hurt; and, immediately after this ceremony, he was taken to the council-house, and all the warriors once more assembled to determine his fate.

"He sat silent and dejected upon the floor of the cabin, awaiting the moment which was to deliver him to the stake, when the door of the council-house opened, and Simon Girty, James Girty, John Ward and an Indian came in with a woman (Mrs. Mary Kennedy) as a prisoner, together with seven children and seven scalps. Kenton was instantly removed from the council-house, and the deliberations of the assembly were protracted to a very late hour, in consequence of the arrival of the last named party with a fresh drove of prisoners.

"At length he was again summoned to attend the council-house, being informed that his fate was decided. Regarding the mandate as a mere prelude to the stake and fire, which he knew was intended for him, he obeyed it with the calm despair which had now succeeded the burning anxiety of the last few days. Upon

entering the council-house, he was greeted with a savage scowl, which, if he had still cherished a spark of hope, would have completely extinguished it. Simon Girty threw a blanket upon the floor, and harshly ordered him to take a seat upon it. The order was not immediately complied with, and Girty, impatiently seizing his arm, jerked him roughly upon the blanket, and pulled him down upon it.

"In the same rough and menacing tone, Girty then interrogated him, asking, 'What is your name?' 'Simon Butler!' replied Kenton. Never did the annunciation of a name produce a more powerful effect. Girty and Kenton (then bearing the name of Butler) had served as spies, together, in Dunmore's expedition. The former had not then abandoned the society of the whites for that of savages, and had become warmly attached to Kenton during the short period of their services together. As soon as he heard the name, he became strongly agitated; and springing from his seat, he threw his arms around Kenton's neck, and embraced him with much emotion.

"Then turning to the assembled warriors, who remained astonished spectators of this extraordinary scene, he addressed them in a short speech, which the deep earnestness of his tone, and the energy of his gesture, rendered eloquent. He informed them that the prisoner, whom they had just condemned to the stake was his ancient comrade and bosom friend; that they had traveled the same war-path, slept upon the same blanket, and dwelt in the same wigwam. He entreated them to have compassion upon his feelings; to spare him the agony of witnessing the tortures of

an old friend by the hands of his adopted brothers; and not to refuse so trifling a favor, as the life of a white man, to the earnest intercession of one who had proved, by three years' faithful service, that he was sincerely and zealously devoted to the cause of the Indians.

"The speech was listened to in unbroken silence. As soon as he had finished, several chiefs expressed their approbation by a deep guttural interjection, while others were equally as forward in making known their objections to the prospoal. They urged that his fate had already been determined in a large and solemn council, and that they would be acting like squaws to change their mind every hour. They insisted upon the flagrant misdemeanors of Kenton; that he had not only stolen their horses, but had flashed his gun at one of their younger men; that it was vain to suppose that so bad a man could ever become an Indian at heart, like their brother Girty; that the Kentuckians were all alike, very bad people, and ought to be killed as fast as they were taken; and finally, they observed, that many of their people had come from a distance solely to assist at the torture of the prisoner, and pathetically painted the disappointment and chagrin with which they would hear that all their trouble had been for nothing.

"Girty listened, with obvious impatience, to the young warriors who had so ably argued against a reprieve, and starting to his feet as soon as the others had concluded, he urged his former request with great earnestness. He briefly but strongly recapitulated his own services, and the many and weighty instances

of attachment which he had given. He asked if *he* could be suspected of partiality to the whites? When had he ever before interceded for any of that hated race? Had he not brought seven scalps home with him from the last expedition? And had he not submitted seven white prisoners that very evening to their descretion? Had he expressed a wish that a single one of the captives should be saved? *This* was his first and should be his last request: For if they refused to *him* what was never refused to the intercession of one of their natural chiefs, he would look upon himself as disgraced in their eyes, and considered as unworthy of confidence. Which of their own natural warriors had been more zealous than himself? From what expedition had he ever shrunk? What white man had ever seen his back? Whose tomahawk had been bloodier than his? He would say no more. He asked it as a first and last favor—as an evidence that they approved of his zeal and fidelity—that the life of his bosom friend might be spared. Fresh speakers arose upon each side, and the debate was carried on, for an hour and a half, with great heat and energy.

"During the whole time, Kenton's feelings may readily be imagined. He could not understand a syllable of what was said. He saw that Girty spoke with deep earnestness, and that the eyes of the assembly were often turned upon himself, with various expressions. He felt satisfied that his friend was pleading for his life, and that he was violently opposed by a large part of the council. At length the war-club was produced, and the final vote taken. Kenton watched its progress with thrilling emotion, which yielded to

the most rapturous delight as he perceived that those who struck the floor of the council-house were decidedly inferior in number to those who passed it in silence. Having thus succeeded in his benevolent purpose, Girty lost no time in attending to the comfort of his friend. He led him into his own wigwam, and from his own store gave him a pair of moccasins and leggings, a breech-cloth, a hat, a coat, a handkerchief for his neck, and another for his head.

"For the space of three weeks, Kenton lived in perfect tranquillity. Girty's kindness was uniform and indefatigable. He introduced Kenton to his own family, and accompanied him to the wigwams of the principal chiefs, who seemed all at once to have turned from the extremity of rage to the utmost kindness and cordiality. Fortune, however, seemed to have selected him for her football, and to have snatched him from the frying-pan only to throw him into the fire. About twenty days after his most providential deliverance from the stake he was walking in company with Girty and an Indian named Redpole, when another Indian came from the village toward them, uttering repeatedly a whoop of peculiar intonation. Girty instantly told Kenton that it was the distress halloo, and that they must all go instantly to the council-house. Kenton's heart involuntarily fluttered at the intelligence, for he dreaded all whoops, and hated all council-houses, firmly believing that neither boded him any good. Nothing, however, could be done to avoid whatever fate awaited him, and he sadly accompanied Girty and Redpole back to the village.

"The debate quickly commenced. Kenton looked eagerly toward Girty, as his last and only hope. His friend looked anxious and distressed. The chiefs from a distance arose one after another, and spoke in a firm and indignant tone, often looking at Kenton with an eye of death. Girty did not desert him, but his eloquence appeared wasted upon the distant chiefs. After a warm debate, he turned to Kenton and said, 'Well, my friend, *you must die*!' One of the stranger chiefs instantly seized him by the collar, and the others surrounding him, he was strongly pinioned, committed to a guard, and instantly marched off.

"His guards were on horseback, while the prisoner was driven before them on foot, with a long rope round his neck, the other end of which was held by one of the guard. In this manner they had marched about two and a half miles, when Girty passed them on horseback, informing Kenton that he had friends at the next village, with whose aid he hoped to be able to do something for him. Girty passed on to the town, but finding that nothing could be done, he would not see his friend again, but returned to Waughcotomoco [Wapatomica] by a different route.

"They soon reached a large village upon the headwaters of the Scioto, where Kenton, for the first time, beheld the celebrated Mingo chief, Logan, so honorably mentioned in Mr. Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia.' Logan walked gravely up to the place where Kenton stood, and the following short conversation ensued: 'Well, young man, these young men seem very mad at you!' 'Yes, sir, they certainly are.' 'Well, don't be disheartened, I am a great chief. You are to go

to Sandusky; they speak of burning you there, but I will send two runners tomorrow to speak good for you.' Logan's form was striking and manly, his countenance calm and noble, and he spoke the English language with fluency and correctness. Kenton's spirits instantly rose at the address of the benevolent chief, and he once more looked upon himself as providentially rescued from the stake.

"On the following morning two runners were dispatched to Sandusky, as the chief had promised, and until their return Kenton was kindly treated, being permitted to spend much of his time with Logan, who conversed with him freely and in the most friendly manner. In the evening the two runners returned, and were closeted with Logan. Kenton felt the most burning anxiety to know what was the result of their mission, but Logan did not visit him until the next morning. He then walked up to him, accompanied by Kenton's guards, and, giving him a piece of bread, told him that he was instantly to be carried to Sandusky; and, without uttering another word, turned upon his heel and left him.

"Again Kenton's spirit sank. From Logan's manner he supposed that his intercession had been unavailing, and that Sandusky was destined to be the scene of his final suffering. This appears to have been the truth. But fortune, who, to use Lord Lovat's expression, had been playing at cat and mouse with him for the last month, had selected Sandusky for the display of her strange and capricious power."

The prisoner and his escort now continued their journey till they came in view of the Upper Sandusky

town. The Indians, young and old, came out to meet and welcome the warriors and view their noted prisoner, who at this place was spared the tortures of another gauntlet. But a grand council was immediately convened to determine the fate of Kenton. This was the fourth council which was held to dispose of the life of the prisoner, who, by this time, one would imagine, would welcome death as the end of further tortures and sufferings.

"As soon as this grand court was organized, and ready to proceed to business, a Canadian Frenchman, one Pierre Druillard who usually went by the name of Peter Druyer, was a captain in the British service, and dressed in the gaudy appendages of the British uniform, made his appearance in the council. This Druyer was born and raised in Detroit—he was connected with the British Indian agent department —was their principal interpreter in settling Indian affairs; this made him a man of great consequence among the Indians. It was to this influential man, that the good chief Logan, the friend of all the human family, sent his young men to intercede for the life of Kenton. His judgment and address were only equaled by his humanity. His foresight in selecting the agent who it was most probable could save the life of the prisoner, proves his judgment and his knowledge of the human heart. As soon as the grand council was organized, Captain Druyer requested permission to address the council. This permisison was instantly granted. He began his speech by stating, 'that it was well known that it was the wish and interest of the English that not an American should be left

alive. That the Americans were the cause of the present bloody and distressing war— that neither peace nor safety could be expected, so long as these intruders were permitted to live upon the earth.' This part of his speech received repeated grunts of approbation. He then explained to the Indians, 'that the war to be carried on successfully, required cunning as well as bravery—that the intelligence which might be extorted from a prisoner, would be of more advantage, in conducting the future operations of the war, than would be the lives of twenty prisoners. That he had no doubt but the commanding officer at Detroit could procure information from the prisoner now before them, that would be of incalculable advantage to them in the progress of the present war. Under these circumstances, he hoped they would defer the death of the prisoner till he was taken to Detroit, and examined by the commanding general. After which he could be brought back, and if thought advisable, upon further consideration, he might be put to death in any manner they thought proper.' He next noticed, 'that they had already a great deal of trouble and fatigue with the prisoner without being revenged upon him; but that they had got back all the horses the prisoner had stolen from them, and killed one of his comrades; and to insure them something for their fatigue and trouble, he himself would give one hundred dollars in rum and tobacco, or any other article they would choose, if they would let him take the prisoner to Detroit, to be examined by the British General.' The Indians, without hesitation, agreed to Captain Druyer's proposition, and he paid down the ransom.

As soon as these arrangements were concluded, Druyer and a principal chief set off with the prisoner for Lower Sandusky. From this place they proceeded by water to Detroit, where they arrived in a few days. Here the prisoner was handed over to the commanding officer, and lodged in the fort as a prisoner of war. He was now out of danger from the Indians, and was treated with the usual attention of prisoners of war in civilized countries. The British commander gave the Indians some additional remuneration for the life of the prisoner, and they returned satisfied to join their countrymen at Wapatomika."

Kenton was taken prisoner about the first of September (1778), and arrived at Detroit about the first of November, his tortures and trials thus extending over sixty days. That he had survived his experience was evidence of the tremendous and inexhaustible powers of endurance vouchsafed him. Until June (1779) he was kept a closely guarded prisoner in Detroit but his incessant plans for an escape were finally realized and with two other captives he "stole away" and striking west from the Wabash followed it to the Ohio and thence to his Harrodsburg home, at which he arrived in July, a month after his escape from the British post. "Thus terminated," adds McClung, "one of the most remarkable adventures in the whole range of Western History."

Chapter XII.

SIEGE OF FORT LAURENS

DURING the detention of Kenton at Detroit, Simon Girty, as described by De Schweinitz "an inveterate drunkard, a blustering ruffian, seduced by British gold to forsake the Americans, whose interpreter he had been, was now espousing the royal cause with all the baseness of his character," and became active as one of the most trusted subordinates of Governor Hamilton and served not only as the bearer of his despatches but the guide and often the director of the marauding parties sent out from the British headquarters at Detroit.

The building of Fort Laurens awakened Hamilton to the courage and audacity of the Americans and Girty was especially directed to watch the movements of the military forces at Fort Pitt and at Fort Laurens. On the sixth of January (1779) Girty set out from the upper Scioto, to reconnoitre the situation at Fort Laurens, and "take some scalps, particularly Colonel Gibson's." He was accompanied by some twenty-five Indians, mostly Mingoes. But the secret of Girty's movements became known to Killbuck, the Delaware chief, and he at once dispatched the news to Colonel Gibson, who thereby was placed upon his guard.

Meanwhile, Girty approached Fort Laurens, but on arriving in its vicinity took good care not to discover himself and his savages to the garrison but instead lay in ambush at a safe distance. And now while the British expedition under the personal direction of Governor Hamilton was re-occupying Fort Sackville at Vincennes, on the banks of the lower Wabash, the siege, led by Girty, of Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas,

was in progress. The American Revolution in the western country thus presented strange and contrasting events.

More than half of January (1779) was spent without results by the pent up soldiers of the little fort, when quartermaster Samuel Semple, sent by Colonel Gibson to Coshocton for provisions, had one man killed and another seriously wounded by treacherous Delawares. A few days later another party, under Captain John Clark, who had successfully transported provisions from Fort Pitt to Fort Laurens, on his return with fifteen men, was attacked by Girty's band, some three miles from the latter post; two of his men were killed four wounded, and one taken prisoner. The remainder of the party fought their way back to Fort Laurens. In this encounter Girty secured from Captain Clark important letters written by Gibson to McIntosh. With his prisoners and these documents Girty hastened to Detroit to report to Captain Lernoult—then in command there—for Hamilton had been captured and was on his way under escort as a prisoner to Williamsburg. Girty also bore with him strings of wampum from the Mingoes, Shawnees and Sandusky Wyandots and from a few Delawares as evidence of their allegiance to the British.

The news of the capture of Governor Hamilton and the repossession of Fort Sackville by George Rogers Clark had a depressing effect upon the Ohio Indians and even upon Girty for Heckewelder wrote at this time to Colonel Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, that Girty had "gone to Detroit—but seemed to be very low spirited."

But Girty, implacable and tireless, was the chief conspiring agent of the British. At Detroit he declared that seven or eight hundred warriors, Mingoes, Shawnees, Wyandots and even Delawares, could be assembled at Upper Sandusky and marched to the beleaguerment of Fort Laurens. For this purpose Girty asked of Captain Lernoult, not only arms and ammunition, but earnestly solicited that an English officer might be sent to command them, and "see how they would behave." Captain Henry Bird, of the 8th or King's Regiment, and ten soldiers were at once dispatched with Girty to Upper Sandusky, to aid in the proposed undertaking. By the latter part of February one hundred and twenty savages, mostly Wyandots and Mingoes, the latter under the immediate lead of Girty, all under command of Bird, and all plentifully armed and supplied with ammunition from Detroit, set out from Upper Sandusky and placed themselves in ambush about Fort Laurens.

The little band of Gibson's soldiers, though suffering for provisions and from the unusually cold weather, bravely faced all dangers. The commander pluckily, by messenger, sent word to McIntosh: "You may depend on my defending the fort to the last extremity."

The story of this siege is one of bloody deeds and brave suffering. Girty's siege was inaugurated with a cunning but shocking butchery, as related by Stone, in his "Life of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief." "The horses of the garrison were allowed to forage for themselves upon the herbage, among the dried prairie grass immediately in the vicinity of the fort—wearing bells, that they might be the more easily

found if straying too far. It happened one morning in January, that the horses had all disappeared, but the bells were heard, seemingly at no great distance. The horses had, in truth, been stolen by the Indians, and conveyed away. The bells, however, were taken off, and used for another purpose. Availing themselves of the tall prairie grass, the Indians formed an ambuscade, at the farthest extremity of which they caused the bells to jingle as a decoy. The artifice was successful.

"A party of sixteen men was sent in pursuit of the straggling steeds, who fell into the snare. Fourteen were killed upon the spot, and the remaining two taken prisoners, one of whom returned at the close of the war, and of the other nothing was ever heard." This incident as recited by Stone, has however, it should be noted, been questioned by Hildreth who says that at this time "no horses were left at the fort, as they must either have been starved or been stolen by the Indians."

James W. Taylor, in his little "History of Ohio," (1854) thinks the tinkling bell account was confused with another incident, which he relates as follows: "During the cold weather, while the Indians were lying about the fort, although none had been seen for a few days, a party of seventeen men went out for the purpose of carrying in firewood, which the army had cut before they left the place, about forty or fifty rods from the fort. Near the bank of the river, was an ancient mound, behind which lay a quantity of wood. A party had been out for several preceding mornings, and brought in wood, supposing the Indians

would not be watching the fort in such cold weather. But on that fatal morning, the Indians had concealed themselves behind the mound, and as the soldiers passed round on one side of the mound, a part of the Indians came round on the other, and enclosed the wood party, so that not one escaped."

Girty's party, however, not long after their arrival, showed themselves and openly invested the post. In order to deceive the fort inmates as to their number, the besieging Indians, painted and in full costume of war, so disposed themselves amid the surrounding forest, maneuvering in single files, wheeling and countermarching, that they appeared, to the soldiers of Gibson, to be many times their actual strength. Indeed their number was estimated as high as eight hundred. This however, seems to have been a common ruse in backwoods Indian warfare. Clark successfully employed it in his capture of Fort Vincennes.

The siege was a remarkable one and continued until the garrison was reduced to the verge of starvation; a quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat constituting a daily ration for each; the cold was intense and exit from the stockade could not be made for fuel or food; the plucky soldiers suffered to the verge of life; it was a veritable Valley Forge on the banks of the Tuscarawas. But the assailants themselves were being worn out from exposure and privations.

It was the end of March (1779) that General McIntosh with a force of five hundred men including Pennsylvania militia and Continental troops set out from Fort Pitt for the relief of Gibson. Arriving at the

fort, he found the siege abandoned and the savages gone. The assailing tribesmen had been outstarved and outwitted by the soldiers of the invincible garrison. But the latter were in a most deplorable condition. For nearly a week their only subsistence had been raw hides and such roots as they could find in the vicinity after the Indians had departed.

Leaving about a hundred men of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, under command of Major Frederick Ward Vernon and a supply of food for two months, General McIntosh returned to his quarters and a few weeks later (April, 1779), dispirited and ill, retired from the command of the western department. Meantime (March 5) Washington, anticipating McIntosh's resignation, had chosen Colonel Daniel Brodhead, commander of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, as successor to McIntosh. The selection was well made.

It was doubtless on the return of the besieging Indians, under Bird, to Upper Sandusky, that Girty made the dastardly attempt to waylay and murder Zeisberger. Heckewelder in his "Narrative," states that Girty, McKee and Elliott, "whose hostility to the United States, appeared unbounded, were continually plotting the destruction of the Christian Indian Settlements as the only means of drawing the Delaware nation, and with these the Christian Indians, into the War." "The missionaries in particular were as a thorn in their eyes, being not only considered as the cause that the Delawares would not join in the War; but they also mistrusted these of informing the American government, the part they (renegades) were acting in the Indian country."

Heckewelder then relates, as does also De Schweinitz, in the "Life of Zeisberger," that Girty, on returning from the first siege of Fort Laurens planned with confederates to seize Zeisberger as he was journeying from Litchneau to Schoenbrunn. Zeisberger had proceeded part way to a fork in the trail, when Girty and his band of miscreant Mingoes, eight in number, suddenly stepped forth. "That's the man," cried Girty to his Indians, pointing at Zeisberger, "Do now what you have been told to do." But at that instant there burst through the bushes two or three Delawares, "among them the great Glikkikan," who fearing for the safety of Zeisberger had followed him. The conspirators slunk away; Girty following, "gnashing his teeth in impotent rage."

On the other hand Captain Bird when arriving at Upper Sandusky, on his way to Detroit, learned that a number of Delawares, stimulated by a reward of eight hundred dollars, offered by the Americans for Girty's scalp, actually went in pursuit of the renegade, but failed to secure their victim. In reporting this to Captain Lernoult, Captain Bird wrote, "I assure you, Sir, Girty is one of the most useful, disinterested friends in his deportment that the government has."

Before following further the movements of Girty, who was the fascinating villain in the scenes being depicted, we conclude the siege of Fort Laurens.

The condition of this post early engaged the attention of Brodhead. Scarcely had Major Vernon taken command, in place of Colonel Gibson, when small parties of Indians made their appearance and continued the blockade of the impregnable little post

that stood like a Gibraltar in the very midst of the enemy's country. The hardships and privations of the garrison were unabated, and well-nigh unparalleled. They could not make foraging expeditions and the portage of supplies into the stockade was attended with difficulties and dangers that made it nearly impossible. But Washington, who amid all his other cares and responsibilities never let the Tuscarawas outpost escape his attention, wrote General Brodhead: "the Tuscarawas post is to be preserved, if under a full consideration of circumstances, it is judged a post of importance and can be maintained without running too great a risk, and if the troops in general under your command are disposed in the manner best calculated to cover and protect the country on a defensive plan." He feared its abandonment would give hope and courage to the British at Detroit and their Indian allies.

But Major Vernon could not remain without relief, and he wrote Brodhead, the last of April, "should you not send us provisions in a very short time, necessity will oblige us to begin on some cowhides the Indians left." Such soldiers as could with safety be exported to Fort Pitt were there sent until in May, Vernon's force was reduced to twenty-five. The last of this month their handful of men had reached the limit of endurance; they were living on herbs, salt and cowhides, when a relief expedition rescued them from approaching death.

This relief came through a company of regulars, commanded by Captain Robert Beall. To avoid an ambuscade by the besieging savages, Beall conducted

his party by boat from Fort McIntosh down the Ohio to the deserted Mingo town, at the mouth of Cross Creek; thence across country to Fort Laurens. The relief party found the post inmates in the last stages of starvation, many of them being unable, through exhaustion and weakness, to stand on their feet. As soon as possible the revived men were removed to Fort Pitt, and in June the post was relieved by seventy-five fresh troops well supplied with provisions, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. The siege gradually subsided until, after being once more seriously threatened by the Indian assailants, Fort Laurens, early in August (1779) was evacuated; orders to that effect having been sent by Colonel Brodhead.

As it was thought that it might again be occupied, Colonel Campbell was instructed not to destroy the fort. It was, however, never again garrisoned. The tall, sharp-pointed, picket walls and the crude overhanging corner bastions stood undisturbed for more than three score years and were described to the present writer, as he stood upon the spot but two years past, by a venerable farmer, born and raised within a stone's throw of the site of the fort, remains of the wooden bastions of which were still in evidence during the early boyhood of the writer's informant. More's the pity, if not the shame that the state or nation has not erected on the site, now the prey of the relentless plowshare, a fitting monument to the Heroes of the American Revolution, who here died or endured untold sufferings and sacrifices, than which there are none greater nor more patriotic in the annals of the struggle of our forefathers for national independence.

Meanwhile Brodhead was keeping a sharp eye on the movements of the enemy both civilized and savage in the western country. It was in May, 1780, that Brodhead, having learned that an army of British and Indians was assembling on the Sandusky River, in preparation for an attack on Fort Pitt, directed Captain Samuel Brady to go to the Sandusky and learn the situation in the Indian center.

Samuel Brady was one of the "dare-devil" heroes of the Indian-Revolutionary times. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth and, it is said, was a playmate in boyhood days of Simon Girty. Brady was a famous war scout and Indian killer. He had an intense hatred of the redmen for they had killed both his father, John Brady, and his brother, James Brady. Samuel was a soldier in the Pennsylvania lines and was stationed (1778) at Fort Pitt, whence he had gone forth in several raids against the tribesmen on the Upper Allegheny. On this particular errand (1780) to the Sandusky, Brady was accompanied by two or three companions, all dressed and painted like savages.

It was a long and perilous journey, for travel could only be made by night, from Fort Pitt to the Indian headquarters on the Sandusky. Under cover of darkness, Brady and his comrades waded from the river banks on to the island opposite the Indian town at Lower Sandusky (Fremont), where they lay in a thicket all the next day, watching the Indians enjoying a horse-race near the river bank. The town, says Hassler, was "overcrowded with warriors, and their festivities indicated preparations for the warpath," though the horse-race could hardly have been regarded

as a warlike demonstration. Brady and his companions stealthily hurried away from their concealment on the island, thereafter known as Brady's Island, and experiencing many hazardous encounters, reached Fort Pitt, after an absence of thirty-two days.

Perhaps before parting with Captain Brady, whom we may not again meet, we should make note of the most famous achievement with which his name is connected. It is his feat, popularly known as "Brady's Leap." The exact date of this exploit seems to have escaped authentic record, but it must have been in the year 1780 or 1781, probably not long after the spying journey just related. The story of this "leap" has been told by many relaters and with a great variety of embellishments, perhaps the most "fetching" one as to details, real or imaginary, being that in "Tract 29," of the publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society, published in the year 1875.

There is also another interesting account in the Draper Manuscripts. Both these recitals are "recollections" of what was told the writers either by Brady himself or one who had it from Brady. In brief, the relation is, that Brady, when on a scouting trip into the Sandusky country, was surprised, overpowered and taken prisoner. He was conducted to the Sandusky Wyandot capital and the tribesmen, greatly rejoicing over the capture of an enemy so hated and feared, gathered to enjoy his tortures and burning at the stake. Girty, the old-time friend of Brady, was present but turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the helpless prisoner. All preparations were made for the execution, the prisoner was tied to the stake and the

fires lighted, when Brady, who was possessed of unusual physical powers, suddenly snapped the withes that bound his arms and leaping forth seized a squaw by the head and shoulders and hurled her on the burning fagots. In the midst of the turmoil thus created, he dashed away, getting a good start of his pursuers, as he was an athlete with marvelous agility and powers of endurance; he was moreover intimately versed in all the arts of frontier woodcraft and in the practices of the redmen.

The chase continued, so runs the story in "Tract 29," a distance of a hundred miles, until, after many exciting incidents, the Cuyahoga River was reached, at the narrow gorge, in the now town of Kent (Portage County) and the Indians close on his track behind; he had not a moment to spare and as it was life or death with him, he made the famous Brady's leap across the Cuyahoga River. The gorge here, say the Draper Manuscripts, was very narrow, some twenty-two feet from one precipitous bank to the other. He landed on the eastern bank, catching himself in the bushes some five feet from the top. Pulling himself together and regaining the bank level, he "kept on rapidly to the beautiful pond or lake" which has ever since borne his name, just two miles from the narrows where he made his memorable leap. His enemies still pursuing him "with the ferocity of blood hounds," for they had crossed at a ford close by, Brady plunged into the pond and "hid himself under a large chestnut tree which had fallen into the water." The pond lilies and flags screened him, as he lay submerged, all but his head, which was hidden by the

branches of the overhanging tree, while his pursuers concluding he was drowned "gave up the fruitless chase and returned."

A visit, to-day, to the scene of Brady's leap is disappointing as there are now no indications of the natural conditions prevailing at the time of the famous achievement. The Cuyahoga River flows through the center of the town of Kent. At the exact spot designated, the river, in early days, found its narrowest passage, some twenty-two feet in width. The banks on both sides were then of a perpendicular height of twenty-five or more feet. Time and the encroachments of civilization have leveled down these banks until they now rise only a few feet above the river's surface; moreover the rocky formation —formerly the base of the earthen banks—flanking each side the river channel has been worn away by the water's current and the blasting by engineers to facilitate the river transportation, until the stream is to-day twice the width it was when Brady cleared the chasm in a bound.

Other exploits equally unusual and herculean are related of Samuel Brady, who, in spite of the many amazing, and no doubt partly true, tales accredited to him, was a brave and patriotic figure in those days of adventure and peril.

From such romantic incidents, we return to the reality of our history.

Chapter XIII.

OHIO INVASIONS BY BOWMAN AND CLARK

IT was the last of May (1779)— some authorities, especially Withers, erroneously state July—that Colonel John Bowman, of Harrodsburg, he, who had sent out the spying embassy under Kenton, the previous autumn, perfected his plans for a raid upon the Shawnee center of Chillicothe, or Oldtown on the Little Miami, about three miles above Xenia. Bowman decided "to command in person this first regular enterprise to attack, in force, the Indians beyond the Ohio, ever planned in Kentucky." Accordingly the most formidable force that had up to that time been assembled for an Ohio raid rendezvoused at the mouth of the Licking, site of Covington, Ky. The little army numbered nearly three hundred men, divided into companies under captains Benjamin Logan, Silas Harlan, Levi Todd, John Holder, and William Harrod.

These frontier fighters were volunteers not only from Kentucky, but the Ohio Valley as far up as Redstone, on the Monongahela. With George Clark and William Whitley as pilots and George M. Bedinger as adjutant and quartermaster, the cavalcade, for they were mounted, crossed the Ohio and pushed rapidly on to Old Chillicothe—called in the Draper Manuscripts Little Chillicothe, located on the Little Miami, three miles north of the present town of Xenia—within a mile of which they arrived in the early night, without having alarmed the enemy. It was planned that Captain Logan with one-half the force should turn to the left and march half way around the town, while Colonel Bowman commanding the remainder should take the right; both columns were thus in silence and darkness, to encircle

the town. Logan executed his orders and concealing his men in the high grass, awaited the arrival of Bowman. Daylight appeared, but Bowman did not. For some unexplained cause the commander-in-chief fell short of his appointment.

The Shawnee warriors, one hundred strong, under their chiefs, Black Fish, Black Hoof and Black Beard, rallied to the council-house, as a fortress, while the two hundred squaws and children were hurried into the woods along a pathway not occupied by the assailants. Logan ordered his men to occupy the deserted huts, which they did under fire from the Indian stronghold. The situation determined Logan to move directly to the attack of the cabin, in which the warriors had taken refuge, and ordering his men to advance, he was already marching on the foe, when he was overtaken by an order from Colonel Bowman to retreat. It is supposed this order of retreat was given because a false report was started among the soldiers that Simon Girty and a hundred Shawnees from the Indian village of Piqua, twelve miles distant, were marching to the relief of Black Fish.

There was nothing for Logan to do but obey the orders of his superior, and retreat was directed. It disorganized the soldiers, who, after setting fire to the thirty or more huts as they fled, scattered to the woods, while the Indians sallied forth to give battle.

A curious incident occuring in the retreat of the Kentuckians during this encounter, is related in the Draper Manuscripts. In the advance of Bowman's men into the village, a party of the front column, under heavy fire from the Indians, took refuge in an

empty cabin. When the order to retreat came they were "put to it" as to how they could leave the cabin and retire without receiving the volleys of the Indians now pressing upon their place of refuge. Finally, says Draper's account,—written from letters and diaries of those who participated in the event—a novel plan was hit upon; each one provided himself with a plank torn off the door or floor of the cabin, and holding it upon his back slantingly so as to protect his body from the bullets of the savages, started on the run. This "movable back work—rather than breastwork—proved amply sufficient to save the lives of all."

Captains Logan and Harrod succeeded in partially rallying the retreating men and in charging the pursuing savages, who boldly returned the enemy's fire until they saw their chief Black Fish fall, mortally wounded, when the savages in turn took to flight. It was—say the Draper Manuscripts—in a well-planned charge of Major Bedinger with a party of forty or fifty of the backwoods soldiers, (mostly Monongahelians) of the expedition, that Black Fish was mortally wounded; the Indians were seen to hurriedly place their fallen chief upon a horse, with a faithful warrior mounted behind him, and then flee toward their town. It was observed that Black Fish was dressed in a beautiful white shirt richly trimmed with brooches and other silver ornaments; and from white prisoners who subsequently escaped or were liberated, it was ascertained that the brave Shawnee chief expired as he entered the town.

Little Chillicothe was for the most part destroyed by fire and the adjacent crops were laid waste. The

frontiersmen, having had nine men killed and a few wounded, returned to the Ohio with one hundred and sixty-three Indian ponies and other plunder, chiefly silver ornaments and clothing, amounting in all to the value of $160,000, Continental money, "each man getting goods or horses to the amount of about $500," in the same paper valuation. The method of distribution was as follows: The plunder was sold at auction and any soldier of the expedition could bid in the property to the amount of $500. If the bidder bought in excess of that, he paid the difference in money, if less, he was entitled, from the general surplus, an amount in money to make good his share.

It was an inglorious victory, though "the newspapers of the day regarded the expedition as an undoubted success." One of the best summaries of Bowman's campaign is that recently published by Danske Danridge in the life of George Michael Bedinger. Draper closes his recital of the expedition by saying: "Thus ended the celebrated campaign of 1779—a campaign, it should be remarked, the real history of which has been but imperfectly understood. Made at so early a day, and not as fortunate in its results as some of its successors, it is not strange that its true character should have been misconstrued or undesignedly misrepresented. Bowman, when too late to retrieve his error, seems to have felt keenly the miscarriage of the expedition, and to have given himself up to despondency and inaction. Nor is it at all certain, that he should be made the scapegoat for the failure of the enterprise. The numbers engaged were amply sufficient, the officers confessedly brave and expe-

rienced; and withal, they reached the Indian town entirely undiscovered; they evidently found less than its full quota of warriors there, and the plan of attack seemed proper and judicious. And notwithstanding all these auspicious circumstances, superadded to their great superiority of numbers, the campaign was well-nigh a total failure.

Many of the participants in this campaign had been soldiers in the Revolution and were fresh from the camps and battle fields of the East, having fought in the early encounters of the colonists against the British; Major Bedinger, for instance, had been with Dunmore in the Ohio campaign and had taken part in the siege of Boston.

Logan was easily the hero of the expedition while Colonel John Bowman, who was a brother of Joseph Bowman, one of the chief captains under George Rogers Clark in the Illinois conquest, barely escaped damage to his otherwise deserved reputation for sagacity and bravery in Indian warfare.

This expedition of Bowman, however, while it left the fierce forest warriors in no "degree daunted or crippled," struck consternation throughout the tribes and impressed the British authorities with the realization that the backwoodsmen of Kentucky were a foe of no trivial consideration. Indeed this raid upon the Shawnee center on the Little Miami, was not without its immediate effect, for it checked, in another quarter, the movements of the British and Indians. Captain Henry Bird, following the abandonment of the siege of Fort Laurens, had collected two hundred Indians at the Mingo town and was about to start

for an invasion of the Kentucky border when news of Bowman's strike at Chillicothe reached Bird's camp. Quickly Bird's Indian force dissolved in a panic, many hastening to defend their towns, now exposed, as they supposed to the Kentuckians; some of the alarmed tribesmen even advised making peace with the Americans.

The solicitude prevailing at Detroit is revealed by a letter of July 3, 1779, just after Bowman's exploit, written by Captain D. Brehm to General Haldimand in which he reported that Captain Alexander McKee, "of the Indians and commissary of the same," arrived here the 3d instant and says "that the Chanes [Shawnees], Delawares and Sandusky Indians are so much frightened by the encroachment of the Rebells that he doubts of their resisting them much longer, if no troops can be sent to co-operate with them," saying also "that their pretended Fathers [British] only make a cat's paw of them, by setting them on when they can spare no men to support them; that they will and must drop them and consequently must fall a sacrifice if they do not in time take their [American's] advice, and keep neutral. And Brehm adds: "All means are taken to persuade the Indians to the contrary, and encourage them to fight, but they believe not further than they can see and fear acts stronger on them than all the arguments that can be made use of to convince them of the enemy's ill designs against their lands and so forth; they seeing themselves unable to dislodge the enemy out of the forts in and near their country and the enemy's daily threats and cunning dispersions among them."

The Girtys at this period, it is seen, were the prime spirits in all Indian activities. James and George, as well as Simon, were much at Detroit, plotting mischief with Lernoult and subsequently with Major Arent Schuyler de Peyster, a Knickerbocker Tory from New York, placed in charge of Detroit in October by the Canadian general, Frederick Haldimand. The three Girtys, together with McKee and Elliott, appear constantly here and there, directing or guiding the marauding excursions of the Ohio Indians.

A sample of these "renegade" activities is a counter-event to Bowman's raid, enacted in early October (1779), in which month David Rogers, returning from New Orleans where he had been sent by the Virginians for supplies, moored his two keel-boats, carrying seventy men, on the Kentucky side about three miles below the Little Miami. His temporary camp was suddenly attacked by a band of Shawnees, Mingoes, Wyandots and a few Delawares, under the leadership of Simon Girty, George Girty and Matthew Elliott, who had reached the Ohio the evening prior to the arrival of Rogers, and apprised of his approach had crossed the river and prepared for his arrival. It was a merciless and prodigious slaughter, for forty-two or more of the party, including Rogers himself, were shot down and tomahawked in cold blood. The spoil of the victors was "forty bales of dry goods, a quantity of rum and fusees, together with a chest of hard specie."

These scenes of blood and murder had however their mixture of comedy, grim colored though it may have been. Among the wounded in Rogers' force was Captain Robert Benham, who was shot through

both hips, the bones being shattered. Falling to the ground he managed to drag himself under the branches of a recently fallen tree and lay concealed and half-famished until the second day, when the Girty band had completed their looting and returned across the Ohio. Perceiving a raccoon descending a nearby tree, he shot it hoping to devise some means of securing it and make a meal. The crack of his rifle was responded to by the cry of a human voice, evidently produced by one not far off. Halloos followed and the helpless Benham was approached by a Kentuckian member of Rogers' party. This Kentuckian had also escaped from the encounter but with both arms broken by rifle balls of the enemy. His hands were therefore useless. Collins in his "History of Kentucky" gives the entertaining details of the mutual and combined efforts of these two disabled men to assist one another. Benham having the perfect use of his arms, could load his gun and kill the game with great readiness, while his armless friend, whose name seems lost to fame, could kick the game to the spot where sat the "dislegged" shooter, who was able to dress the game and roast the same before burning sticks which the "disarmed" assistant would kick within reach of his companion, who in turn fed the walking member of this strange firm. Benham dressed his comrade's wounds with strips of their torn-up shirts. Their method of getting water should not pass unrecorded. Benham took his own hat and placed the rim between the teeth of his companion, who then waded into the Licking Creek up to his neck, dipped the hat into the water by sinking his head; the receptacle thus

filled was borne to Benham who could do the rest. They thus lived several weeks, their wounds meantime slowly healing, until late in November they were able to hail a boat passing down the Ohio which bore them to Louisville, where after a few weeks of nursing they recovered from their injuries, and their strange adventure became one of the most unique stories of frontier life.

The early part of the year 1780 was a disastrous and depressing one for the colonists in the American Revolution, especially on the seaboard. While matters were progressing slowly in the north, Sir Henry Clinton, in the south, invested Charleston, which in April surrendered to the British besiegers. Savannah was already in the possession of the enemy and thus Georgia and South Carolina seemed lost to the Americans. This gave renewed courage to the British authorities at Detroit and their agents who were tireless in their efforts to keep the Indians on the warpath. But if the American affairs were going badly in the New England and southern states, the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky were sturdily struggling in the cause of their country amid the horrors of savage warfare on the obscure battlefields of the Ohio interior:

"Those western pioneers an impulse felt,
Which their less hardy sons scarce comprehend:
Alone, in Nature's wildest scenes they dwelt,
And fought with deadly strife for every inch of ground."

As early as the middle of March the Indians began their customary depredations. A band of Munseys, "a Delaware clan living to the westward," under their leader, Washnash, attacked near the mouth of Captina

Creek, a party of whites descending the Ohio in flatboats. Many men were killed, two of the boats captured and twenty or thirty prisoners taken, among whom was the family, a wife and seven children, of Peter Malott, who himself being in another boat escaped. One of the captured children of Malott was a handsome daughter, then in her teens, named Catherine, who shortly thereafter became the wife of Simon Girty. The Indian band which made this foray and capture on their way home, on the Walhonding, stopped at the Muskingum quarters of the Delawares, from which place the news of the Munsey raid was borne to Zeisberger, who at once reported it to Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt, an incident illustrating the constant friendliness of the Moravians for the Americans.

About this time (March) we find the three Girtys, Simon, George and James, at Detroit, called thither by de Peyster to counsel over the plans of further border depredations. A general campaign of offensive operations was contemplated. The tide of emigration from the East, down the Ohio, was constantly increasing. Flatboats, containing families seeking homes in the Kentucky region, were often passing to the town of Louisville, which had been originally founded by George Rogers Clark and was later established by an act of the Virginia Legislature and which had now some thirty cabins and nearly two hundred inhabitants, one of whom was the Western hero, George Rogers Clark, who by direction of Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia, had erected a fort on the east side of the Mississippi River, five miles below the mouth of the

Ohio, upon the lands of the Chickasaws and Choctaws; it was named Fort Jefferson and marked the military advance of the Virginians to the Father of Waters. Louisville was protected by two block houses and a stockade, called Fort Slaughter, after the colonel of that name, who with one hundred and fifty Virginia troops garrisoned the growing station.

Louisville was an irritation to the British officers at Detroit; its growing strength was a menace to the Indians. Louisville, like Carthage of old, must be destroyed. De Peyster organized an expedition to execute the decision to efface or capture Louisville. For this purpose Captain Henry Bird was selected as commander with the three Girtys as guides and scouts. One hundred and fifty Canadians and British soldiers were rendezvoused at Detroit, joined by one hundred Indians, "from the Upper Lakes." Carrying two small cannon, they proceeded in boats, by way of the Maumee portage and the Miami, to the mouth of the latter, whence they were to drop down the river to Louisville. Arriving at the Great Miami, near the confluence of Loramie's Creek, the Detroit force was augmented by no less than three—some say six—hundred Ohio Indians—mostly Shawnees—under the guidance of Captain Alexander McKee.

Before leaving Detroit or any rate by the time they reached the Miami, knowledge of the strength of the Louisville station and its great distance from any base of supplies or source of reënforcement, caused Colonel Bird and his renegade and Indian allies, to change the destination of the campaign; and instead of going down the Ohio, they ascended the river to

the Licking up which they proceeded to its forks, where the men and munitions of war were landed. Withers tells the sequel: Not far from the place of debarkation was Ruddell's Station, so called in honor of its first settler, Captain Isaac Ruddell—often spelled Ruddle—whose wife Elizabeth was sister to the brothers Joseph and John Bowman.

The "station" comprised at this time several families and many adventurers and was protected, like all such settlements, by a blockhouse; in this case bearing the impressive name "Fort Liberty." This station, McKee with two hundred of the Indians, stealthily approached and surrounded almost before the settlers were aware that the enemy were in the Kentucky country. Next day Bird and the remainder of his force reached the station and after a few shots at the stockade, Simon Girty was sent forward with a flag of truce, demanding the immediate surrender of the place. Captain Ruddell agreed upon the condition that the prisoners should be protected by the British soldiers and not suffered to be mistreated or held by the Indians. This condition was accepted by Bird. But upon the opening of the gates of the stockade in which were huddled the terror-stricken families, the savages rushed in "tore the poor children from their mothers' breasts, killed and wounded many," and made captive the survivors, nearly three hundred in number. Strange to relate, the next day, the Ohio Indians—but not the Lake Indians—released their prisoners to Captain Bird. All the cattle at the post were shot down by the uncontrollable savages, an act which "in the end proved a serious affair." After Ruddell's

Station had been completely sacked and the prisoners disposed of, the Indians clamored to be led against Martin's Station, then only five miles distant. Bird refused to conduct them to further depredations unless they promised the prisoners should be under his safeguard. To this the Indians, for a time dissenting, finally agreed, with the concession from Bird that the plunder should be theirs. Martin's Station was easily encircled and it capitulated on the first summons, and the prisoners and plunder divided as agreed.

The facility with which these conquests were made excited the Indian thirst for more and they urged an advance upon Lexington and Bryant's Station. But Bird realized he could not progress further, on the contrary must hasten back, as his supplies were nearly exhausted and the infuriated savages had wantonly killed all the cattle they might have kept and eaten. The prisoners, between three and four hundred, were in danger of starving and besides Captain Bird reported the rains were heavy and "rotted" his "peoples' feet." He moved rapidly as possible back to the Ohio, taking his Canadian soldiers in the boats, while the Indians with the prisoners heavily laden with the plunder marched across the country. The captives, whose strength gave out in bearing the burdens on the way, were, after the Indian custom, tomahawked and then despoiled and thrown by the trail side. Having attained the Ohio side, the Indians dispersed to their villages, except the Lake Indians who with Bird and the troops returned as they came by the Miami and the Maumee, reaching Detroit, August 4th, 1780.

This expedition was regarded by de Peyster as a master stroke and so far as actual results were concerned it was undoubtedly the most successful against the Kentucky settlements of any during the Revolution; and but for the "intractability" of the Indian allies still greater results might have been accomplished; but regarded from the point of its original purpose, the expedition was of course a signal failure.

In the expedition of Bird to the Kentucky settlements, we catch a glimpse, probably the last, recorded in history, before his death, of Logan, the famous Mingo chief. His biographer Brantz Mayer, gives the Draper Manuscripts as authority for the knowledge that Logan accompanied Bird, "appearing again to have cast aside his humanity, and to have engaged in the savage employment of scalping or at least of taking prisoners." Mayer continues: "Our Indian hero must have been well nigh fifty-five years of age, and it may be supposed that so relentless and fitful a life of natural impetuosity and artificial stimulus, was drawing near its close. But his checkered career of crime, passion and occasional humanity, with all its finer features obliterated by the habitual use of intoxicating drinks, was doomed to end tragically."

Logan, the last few years of his life, had been more relentless and roving than usual. He had lived on the Scioto, at the mouth of the Olentangy; at Pluggy's Town (Delaware); thence moved to the headwaters of the Mad River and later "pitched his tent" in the neighborhood of Detroit. While at the last residence, according to the Draper Manuscripts, shortly after the return of Bird's force from the Kentucky foray,

Logan attended an Indian council at Detroit, and became wildly drunk, during which state "he prostrated his wife by a sudden blow and she fell, apparently dead." Fearing the penalty for the supposed murder, he fled, and while traveling alone and "still confused by liquor and fear of vengeance," he was overtaken in the forest between Detroit and Sandusky, by a band of Indians, among whom was Todkahdohs, called "The Searcher," cousin or nephew to Logan. Bewildered and infuriated with liquor, the Mingo chief, exclaimed that "the whole party should fall beneath his weapon." Fearing for the party, Todkahdohs leaped from his horse, "leveled a shot-gun within a few feet of the savage and killed him on the spot." Logan's second or Shawnee wife survived the chief.

Many versions of the death of Logan have appeared in print, differing widely from each other, but the above, abbreviated from Draper, is doubtless the most authentic, as Mr. Draper received the statement from Dahganondo, also known as Captain Decker, as it was related to Dahganondo by the selfsame Todkahdohs; and Dahganondo, says Mr. Draper, "was a venerable Seneca Indian and the best Indian chronicler I have met with. His narratives are generally sustained by other evidence and never seem confused or improbable." Dahganondo personally knew Logan, the Mingo chief. Todkahdohs, mentioned above, better known as Captain Logan, left children, two of whom Draper also met and interviewed.

Thus Logan, perhaps one of the best known of all Ohio's great chiefs, met with a tragic and ignoble end, "four miles south of Brown's Town, on the bank of

a small creek upon the trail leading to Sandusky and his town on the Scioto." The place of his burial is not known, though it is frequently stated the Wyandots buried him near their Sandusky town. But his fame will not perish while the memory of his race is the heritage of the white man's literature. He had the traits of a lofty character, and Benjamin Sharp in the "American Pioneer" says: "My brother-in-law Captain John Dunkin, an intelligent man, had several conversations with him on the trip, his last journey. He said Logan spoke both English and French and he told Captain Dunkin that he knew he had two souls, the one good and the other bad; when the good soul had the ascendant, he was kind and humane; and when the bad soul ruled, he was perfectly savage, and delighted in nothing but blood and carnage."

Many are the poetical tributes to the Mingo hero of which that of Joseph D. Canning was written as a proposed epitaph for a Logan monument, which was never erected:

"Logan! to thy memory here,
White men do this tablet rear;
On its front we grave thy name—
In our hearts shall live thy fame.
While Niagara's thunders roar;
Or Erie's surges lash the shore
While onward broad Ohio glides,
And seaward roll her Indian tides,
So long *their* memory, who did give
These floods their sounding names, shall live.
While time, in kindness, buries low
The gory axe and warrior's bow,
O, Justice! faithful to thy trust,
Record the virtues of the just!"

On learning of Colonel Bird's raid up the Licking River and the terrible blow it dealt the two Kentucky settlements, George Rogers Clark, then at Fort Jefferson, entered at once upon a retaliatory expedition to the Ohio Shawnee towns on the Miami and Mad rivers. With two companies of his Fort Jefferson force, he marched through the dense wilderness to Harrodsburg, a long and perilous journey, through thick forests and amid hostile Chickasaws and Choctaws, to deceive whom Clark and his soldiers painted their faces and attired themselves like Indians. The soldiers relied on Buffalo and other game, which they might shoot, for food.

At Harrodsburg, scores of brave backwoodsmen flocked to Clark's standard, among them James Harrod, John Floyd, Simon Kenton and Daniel Boone. All gathered at the mouth of the Licking, the site of so many warlike scenes in the frontier days. It was a typical motley force of rough and ready riflemen, regulars from Fort Jefferson, militia from Louisville and volunteers from the back river settlements, the whole numbering slightly less than a thousand; a body of sturdy men, mostly unacquainted with the tactics of scientific warfare but all at home with the flint-lock and on the forest trail and fearless in the face of savage foes. It was a laborious and tedious task to ferry this armament across the Ohio, to the mouth of the Little Miami, where two blockhouses were built, in which provisions could be stored and to which the wounded might be carried and cared for. These war-purposed cabins, says Butterfield, were the first buildings erected upon the site of Cincinnati, though that

settlement does not date its founding from the time of their being built. The advance was begun, the columns following along the river, in two parallel lines with a space between for the horses and one small cannon, a three pounder—the weight of the ball carried by this cannon is variously given from two to six pounds—strapped to a pack horse. At night the encampment was in the form of a hollow square with the baggage and horses in the middle. The journal kept by one of the soldiers recites that "in the campaigns of these days none but the officers thought of tents—each man had to provide for his own comfort. Our meat was cooked upon sticks set up before the fire; our beds were sought upon the ground and he was a most fortunate man that could gather small branches, leaves and bark to shield him from the ground in moist places."

Old Chillicothe, the scene of Bowman's former semi-failure, was reached August 6th, 1780 just two days later than the day that Bird reached Detroit on his return from his Kentucky raid. Certainly Clark's retaliation was swift winged. But the Indians had anticipated Clark's approach, though by only a few hours, for after learning of his advance, they hardly had time before his arrival, to fire their huts and flee for Piqua.

Leaving the burning and deserted Chillicothe, Clark, after a night's encampment, pushed on to the Shawnee capital, Piqua, twelve miles distant and about five miles south of modern Springfield. Piqua was a pretentious and populous Shawnee tribal settlement, the name denoting in Indian parlance, a "village that arises

from its ashes." Here was the seat of the Shawnee national council, and here was born (1768) the greatest chief of his nation and one of the foremost men of his race, Tecumseh, who as a boy of twelve is said, by tradition, to have been present and to have witnessed the attack upon, and destruction of, his home and native hamlet. It was picturesquely and strategetically situated, as a visit to its location will reveal. The situation is upon an elevated plain on the north banks of the Mad River which here gracefully curves and winds its course southwesterly till it unites with the Big Miami near Dayton. Piqua—not to be confounded with the modern city of Piqua—was substantially built and was laid out in the manner of a French village; the stout built log huts, standing far apart, stretched in a narrow row three miles along the ridge of the upland and at places straggled down into the plain below. Many of the cabins were surrounded with "truck patches" or gardens for the raising of beans and corn. The town contained, within its limits, on the elevation, a stockade in the shape of a spacious rude log cabin surrounded by pickets; it was the citadel and capital, the fort and council-hall.

The view from the higher portions of Piqua, in its pristine primitiveness, must have been of unusual beauty; in front and below, stretching away to the west and south, was the spacious and fertile valley, whose green center was cut by the gentle flowing stream; the eastern horizon was fringed by a range of low rising hills; in the immediate background of the town were the broad areas of cornfields, which in harvest season gave to wigwams and huts a golden

setting, beyond which lay an expanse of lofty forest almost impenetrable in its density.

Into the plain between the river and the hill-capped town, marched the soldiers of Clark, who resorted to the customary tactics of dividing his force into two divisions, one of which he led in front of the village; the other under Benjamin Logan was directed to make a detour and assail the town from the upper end and the rear, and thus prevent the Indians from making any escape. But in this Logan did not succeed, as his column of four hundred became "entangled" in the grass enveloped swamp, that impeded his progress. At the sight of Clark's formidable army, the Shawnee warriors, estimated at some seven hundred in number for the most part, precipitately fled, leaving about one hundred—with whom were Simon Girty and James Girty—to sustain the attack.

The fighting continued, in a skirmishing manner, for most of the day; the Indians skulking behind the blockhouse and cabins and adjacent bushes and trees. The little three pounder was finally mounted and brought into use, and the savages, outnumbered and outarmed, were finally compelled to abandon the field and to scatter to the forest depths. The losses on each side are variously stated, but did not surpass a score of killed in either case; the wounded were no greater in number. The town was destroyed, and under the torch of Clark returned to its ashes; and the growing crops roundabout were likewise the prey of the fire-fiend.

One of the sad incidents of this battle was the death of a cousin to Colonel Clark, viz., Joseph Rogers,

who was with the colonel in the Illinois campaign and who commanded the river boat "Willing" in the Vincennes attack. Rogers was a prisoner of the Shawnees at Piqua, and in the attempt to escape to Clark's army, in the midst of the battle, was shot and fatally wounded, but succeeded in reaching the American line, where he died in the arms of Clark. This incident has been greatly exaggerated and distorted by different writers, most of them crediting Rogers with being a renegade and a reprobate who, after the Illinois campaign deserted to the Indians. William English, in his elaborate biography of Clark, gives the authoritative facts, finally commenting on the event thus: "What must have been his (Clark's) feelings when he realized it was the bright and beloved son of his mother's brother, whom he had influenced to leave his house in Virginia, only to find captivity, death and an unknown grave in the western wilderness?"

On August 10th, two days after the battle, the army, so successful in its undertaking, began the march homeward, and at the mouth of the Licking the soldiers dispersed and "each individual made his best way home."

The invasion of the heart of the enemy's country by Clark's regiment of backwoodsmen, was hailed by the Kentuckians with great rejoicing. The two most important of the Indian towns had been burned; de Peyster's plans had been disconcerted; the fierce Shawnees checked, at least for a time; and McKee wrote from Wapatomica to de Peyster, August 22, 1780: "The loss of their corn will be a very distressing one to their families." Roosevelt appraises the result:

"The Indians were temporarily cowed by their loss and the damage they had suffered, and especially by the moral effect of so formidable a retaliatory foray following immediately on the heels of Bird's inroad. Therefore, thanks to Clark, the settlements south of the Ohio were but little molested for the remainder of the year. The bulk of the savages remained north of the river, hovering about their burned towns, planning to take vengeance in the spring."

Chapter XIV.

BRODHEAD DESTROYS GOSCHOCHGUNG

IN the summer and autumn of 1780, Washington in his letters to Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt, urged the great advantage that would accrue from the seizure of Detroit, thereby depriving the British of their western stronghold. If that were impracticable because of the inability of Congress to furnish the required men and supplies, then an inroad should be made upon the Ohio Indian centers on the Muskingum and the Sandusky, to chastise the savages and acquaint them with the strength of the Americans and the certainty of the latter's success.

Brodhead was the man to do either, if properly supported, for he had shown his bravery and generalship in most effective campaigns, particularly that of the summer of 1779, against the Iroquois allies on the Upper Allegheny and in the Wyoming Valley. But Congress, even at the earnest solicitation of Washington, was powerless to sustain a Detroit expedition. The distressing condition of Brodhead at Fort Pitt is best revealed by a letter from him to Mr. Reed, President of Congress, written January 22, 1781: "A grand council of British and other Savages is now holding at Detroit, and I am informed they are premeditating a descent on this post; and as I cannot rely on a private Contract, which may or may not be made, as shall best suit the Contractors, and it is at most insufficient; this and the other circumstances I have mentioned, have induced me to send Mr. Duncan, (Col. Blaine's Deputy) to apply for money to purchase and lay in provisions for the Troops that are or may be under my Command, if possible, before Spring, so that, if I should be unfortunate enough not to be

sufficiently reinforced to enable me to pursue some hostile measures against the Enemy, I may not be under the disagreeable necessity of shamefully abandoning posts of the first consequence committed to my care, and suffering the already much distressed Inhabitants to be slaughtered by the merciless Savages and their abettors.

"The Soldiers are almost naked, and will not have a rag to cover their nakedness by the first of March. I conceive it will be very difficult for me to quiet them much longer.

"I have never been furnished with goods of any kind, nor a penny of money to enable me to transact business with the Indians; neither has any person been appointed to take the trouble of them off my Hands. And yet, if I can serve my Country, I shall be happy; but it is necessary I should be supported, and a little hard money to give rewards to partizans will be highly expedient.

"The Indian Captains appointed by the British Commandant at Detroit, are clothed in the most elegant manner, and have many valuable presents made them. The Captains I have Commissioned by authority of Congress are naked, and receive nothing but a little Whiskey, for which they are reviled by the Indians in general; So that, unless a change of System is introduced, I must expect to see all Indians in favor of Britain, in spite of every address in my power."

A month later Brodhead seems to have been more discouraged than ever for he wrote Mr. Reed: "My force being too much reduced to admit my undertaking

any offensive measures, I shall probably obtain leave to wait upon your Excellency at Philadelphia where for several reasons I have for some time past wished to be, and as much as may be promote the welfare of this new country."

In reply to pressing appeals direct from Brodhead, Washington wrote Congress on April 14, 1780, vigorously demanding that there be deposited at Fort Pitt, as he had previously directed, "2,400 barrels of flour, 1,000 barrels of salt meat or salt equivalent to put up that quantity on the spot and 7,000 gallons of spirit." But before any supplies or relief reached Brodhead, he valiantly advanced into the country of the enemy, as meanwhile the necessity of offensive and decisive war upon the Indians of eastern Ohio, was augmented by the movements of the tribesmen in the winter of 1780-81, for during that time Captain Pipe had transported his band of Monseys—often spelled Munceys—from his village on the Walhonding, some fifteen miles from Goschochgung, to the Sandusky, there building his town on both sides of the Tymochtee Creek, in which position he was nearer to the British, whose ally he was and whose aid he thus the more easily obtained.

The Delawares on the Muskingum, with their main quarters at Goschochgung, heretofore friendly, in large part, to the Americans, were now rapidly drifting to the British standard. The Moravian Indians had warned Brodhead of the Delaware disaffection, and Heckewelder himself, in February, had written the commander at Fort Pitt: "the people (Indians) at Coshocton have been very busy trying to deceive you

this long time; I believe the greater part of them will be upon you in a few days." The leader of these hostile Delawares was a war chief called Wingenund.

It was time for action and Brodhead, who had just returned from a campaign of devastation among the Indians of the Upper Allegheny, and was in fighting trim, determined to carry the war west into the homes of the Delawares on the Muskingum.

De Peyster, watchful of every movement in the Ohio country, learned of the growing war spirit of the Delawares, from a message they sent him in which they requested the visit to their settlements of British traders, with whom they might deal, thereby revealing that the tribesmen had repudiated the Americans. De Peyster made a most conciliatory and flattering reply, in which he said: "I am pleased when I see what you call live meat because I can speak to it and get information; scalps serve to show that you have seen the enemy, but they are of no use to me; I cannot speak to them." By "live meat" de Peyster meant prisoners of war, and the statement is quoted by Butterfield as indicative that de Peyster was more humane in his methods than his "hair-buyer" predecessor, Hamilton. This message of de Peyster was borne from Detroit to Coshocton by Simon Girty, who, early in 1781, at the express direction of de Peyster, had taken up his residence at Upper Sandusky, among the Wyandots, as it was believed his services would be most useful in that location.

On April 7, 1781, Colonel Brodhead set out from Fort Pitt, with one hundred and fifty regulars, which were reënforced, when he reached Wheeling, by an

equal number of Virginia militia under Colonel David Shepherd and Captains Jonathan Zane and William Crawford; several friendly Indians, one being Pekillon, a Delaware chief, accompanied the troops and one of the guides was John Montour. The published accounts of this important invasion are numerous, but the details in many instances inaccurate and the statements of different writers conflicting. But the main facts are easily obtained from official records and letters; such as the Pennsylvania Archives and Washington's personal correspondence.

Crossing the Ohio, the little army pushed rapidly into the enemy's country. When near Salem, the Moravian town, Colonel Brodhead, sent a courier to Heckewelder, then resident there, informing him of the approaching troops; requesting a small supply of provisions and expressing a desire to see Heckewelder. David Zeisberger, during these events, was temporarily absent in Pennsylvania. The supplies were readily furnished and Heckewelder repaired to the camp of Colonel Brodhead, who stated that he was anxious to know before proceeding further, whether any Christian Indians were out hunting or on business in the direction the army was moving, as he did not wish to do any harm to their (Moravian) people, "as these Indians had conducted themselves from the commencement of the war, in a manner that did them honor; that neither the English nor the Americans, could with justice reproach them with improper conduct in their situation." However, continues Heckewelder in his Narrative, "while the Colonel was assuring me, that our Indians had nothing to fear, an officer, coming with

great speed from one quarter of the camp, reported, that a division of the militia was preparing to break off, for the purpose of destroying the Moravian settlements up the river, and that he feared that they could not be restrained from so doing."

Colonel Brodhead and Colonel Zane instantly took measures to prevent the threatened calamity. The colonel, with his troops, then hurried forward, knowing the hostile Indians would learn of the approaching army. He reached Goschochgung (Coshocton) in the midst of a heavy rain. The right wing of the army was directed to occupy a position above the town, which was mainly on the east side of the river; the left was to assume a stand below, while the center marched directly upon it. The Indian inhabitants, ignorant of the fact that the enemy was in their vicinity, were completely surprised and all made prisoners, without the firing of a gun. The village was pillaged and laid waste and the surrounding crops burned. These usual warlike measures were followed by a horrible incident reflecting great discredit on the American soldiers if not upon their commander. Among the prisoners sixteen warriors were pointed out by Pekillon, as being especially known for their hostile and "diabolical" deeds, and therefore fit subjects for retributive justice. "A little after dark," a council of war decreed their death and they were taken a short distance below the town, and "dispatched with tomahawks and spears and then scalped." The other captives were committed to the care of the militia, to be conducted to Fort Pitt. But other crimes were to follow. The next morning, after the capture of

the town, an Indian made his appearance on the opposite bank of the river, which owing to the swollen waters the soldiers had not crossed, and called out for the "Big Captain," meaning Colonel Brodhead, who demanded what the Indian wanted. "I want peace," he replied. "Then send over some of your chiefs," said the colonel. "Maybe you kill," responded the peace messenger. But the commander promised they would be safe. Relying on this assurance, one of their chiefs, "a well looking man," got over the river and entered into a "talk" with the colonel, when one of the soldiers stole up behind the chief and drawing a tomahawk from beneath his hunting shirt dealt him a blow on the head, which felled him dead.

The destruction of Goschochgung was accompanied by the demolition of Lichtenau, formerly the Moravian village on the river not far below Coshocton, but which owing to its exposure to the hostile Delawares, had been abandoned in the spring of 1780, when the chapel was pulled down, "that it might not be applied to heathenish purposes;" after its desertion by the Moravian Indians, who took refuge at Salem, the hostile Delawares occupied the site, naming their village which was to be so short lived, Indaochaie.

Colonel Brodhead with the prisoners and a large quantity of plunder started on the return march. Withers is responsible for the statement that they had proceeded but a mile or less from Coshocton, when the militia guarding the prisoners commenced murdering them and "in a short space of time a few women and children alone remained alive," some twenty warriors having been butchered like so many

sheep. Brodhead proceeded up the Tuscarawas River to Newcomerstown, or Gekelemukpechunk, the famous Delaware capital, where there were about thirty friendly Delawares and from there, as well as from the towns of Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten and Salem, the three Moravian missions, strung closely together along the Tuscarawas, the soldiers obtained a sufficient supply of provisions for themselves and enough provender for their horses, to serve them till they reached Wheeling, which they did on April 28th, the invasion having occupied exactly three weeks.

Let Colonel Brodhead make his own report, as sent to Congress, May 22d: "In the last letter I had the honor to address to your Excellency, I mentioned my intention to carry an expedition against the revolted Delaware Towns. I have now the pleasure to inform you, that with about three hundred men, (nearly half the number Volunteers from the Country), I surprised the Towns of Cooshasking and Indaochaie, killed fifteen Warriors and took upwards of twenty old men, women and children. * * * After destroying the Towns with great quantities of poultry and other stores and killing about forty head of cattle, I marched up the River, about seven miles, with a view to send for some craft from the Moravian Towns, and cross the River to pursue the Indians; But when I proposed my plan to the Volunteers, I found they conceived they had done enough, and were determined to return, wherefore I marched to Newcomerstown, where a few Indians, who remain in our Interest had withdrawn themselves, not exceeding thirty men. The Troops experienced great kindness from the Moravian Indians and those

at Newcomerstown and obtained a sufficient supply of meat and corn to subsist the men and Horses to the Ohio River. Captain Killbuck and Captain Luzerne, upon hearing of our troops being on the Muskingum, immediately pursued the Warriors, killed one of their greatest Villains and brought his scalp to me. The plunder brought in by the Troops, sold for about eighty thousand pounds at Fort Henry. * * * The Troops behaved with great Spirit and although there was considerable firing between them and the Indians, I had not a man killed or wounded, and only one horse shot."

But Brodhead's brief summary of his campaign, by no means tells the substantial results. His expedition, with its harrowing features of wanton bloodshed and taking of life, for which the colonel may not have been entirely to blame, wrought havoc among the near-border Indian settlements. The Delawares fled westward, drawing back to the Scioto and the Sandusky, where British encouragement awaited them, in the shape of ample supplies.

The blight of war fell heavily on the Moravian missions, and their faithful ministers, David Zeisberger and John Jungmann at Schoenbrunn; Gottlob Senseman and William Edwards at Gnadenhutten; John Heckewelder and Michael Jung at Salem. These towns lay in the direct path of the hostile posts of Pittsburg and Detroit and through their peaceful streets marched in turn the soldiers of the contending nations. Many of the Christian Delawares at these settlements, through which Brodhead passed, fearing the hostile tribesmen, put themselves under the protection of the

American army and accompanied it to Fort Pitt. Indeed Brodhead proposed that all the Moravian Indians and missionaries take refuge with him in Pennsylvania, but they mostly stood bravely by their Christian homes. As De Schweinitz testifies, these Christian Indians and Moravian missionaries were neutral in this American Revolution, but while they never attempted to interfere with the legitimate warfare, the case was different in regard to the massacres perpetrated or proposed by the Indians. They exerted every effort to prevent the scenes of butchery; "it was not enough to theorize in the Delaware council upon the wickedness of burning homesteads and butchering women and children; their sacred office and religious faith compelled them to prevent treacherous slaughter and save non-combatants from being the victims of the indiscriminate tomahawk and the scalping-knife." In this they were impartial but their motives were misunderstood and their actions looked upon with suspicion by both the British and the Americans, though much the less so by the latter.

As early as the first week in June (1781), following the departure of Brodhead, an Indian force hostile to the Moravians, appeared before the three missions. "The first party," reports De Schweinitz, "reached Salem with a painful attempt at martial array." Most of the invading Indians were mounted and rode in the following order: the Half-King, Pomoacan, and his men, from Upper Sandusky; Abraham Coon, a white man adopted and made captain by the Wyandots, led that tribe from Lower Sandusky; Wyandots from Detroit; Mingoes from the Scioto and Mad rivers; the two Shawnee captains, John and Thomas Snake;

Captain Pipe and Captain Wingenund, accompanied with Monseys and Delawares; Mathew Elliott, in his capacity as British captain, attended by Alexander McCormick, an ensign, bearing a British flag; also five other Englishmen and Frenchmen; with stragglers from various tribes bringing up the rear; the whole troop numbering one hundred and forty men. They encamped before Salem, the British flag being raised over Elliott's tent. They were welcomed and entertained by Heckewelder, who minutely recites the subsequent events in his Narrative. Soft words were uttered in the ears of Heckewelder by Pomoacan and Elliott, while some of the party proceeded to Gnadenhutten and Schoenbrunn. The object of this martial embassy was to do away with the missions, if not by the tomahawk and the torch, certainly by securing the missionaries, their assistants and chief converts, numbering in all about one hundred families, who were to be carried captive to Detroit. The story is one of pathetic and tragic details; of hypocrisy and honeyed lies by the Indians; of suffering and anguish on the part of the Moravians, whose houses were looted and property destroyed; whose peaceful and picturesque villages became the scenes of drunken riot, hideous dancing and indescribable yells and war whoops. The missionaries of the three towns were, after many days, assembled at the encampment in Elliott's tent. The spoils of the three villages were divided among the Wyandots, who "dressed themselves in the clothes which they had stolen, and strutted about the camp with childish vanity." De Schweinitz sympathetically tells of the departure: "On the morning of Monday,

the eleventh of September, the whole body of Christian Indians, with the missionaries and their families, left Salem, closely guarded by some Delaware and Wyandot warriors. They travelled in two divisions, the one in canoes on the Tuscarawas, the other on land driving the cattle, of which there was a large herd.

"It was a sad journey. They were turning their backs upon the scenes of more than eight years' industry, and of a Christian communion never equaled in the history of the Indians. They were leaving behind rich plantations, with five thousand bushels of unharvested corn, large quantities of it in store, hundreds of hogs and young cattle loose in the woods, poultry of every kind, gardens stocked with an abundance of vegetables, three flourishing towns, each with a commodious house of worship, all the heavy articles of furniture and implements of husbandry—in short, their entire property, excepting what could be carried on pack-horses or stowed in canoes."

The little band of exiles, entering upon a twenty year period of wanderings in strange lands, followed the river to the site of Goschochgung, whence many of the Indians dispersed, leaving the captives in charge of the Half-King and the Wyandots, "who grew harsh and insolent, in their treatment of their prisoners, striking their horses until they were mad with fright and plunged through swamps at a fearful rate, refusing the mothers time to nurse their babies, and pushing forward in a wild, reckless career." By the first of October, the party reached the Sandusky, and here Pomoacan, "not deigning a word of explanation or an offer of assistance, drew off his band to Upper San-

dusky and left the captives to their fate." Deserted thus in a howling wilderness, without provisions and no game to be seen, they were thrown upon their own resources. Selecting a site on the river, suitable for their habitation, they erected small log cabins and gathered once more about their forest altars. It is called by De Schweinitz, "Captives' Town," and was one mile above the junction of the Sandusky and Broken Creek, in what is now Antrim Township, Wyandot County. Their little hamlet built, Pomoacan, suddenly appeared, proclaimed himself their chief and "announced that he would organize them into war parties and lead them against the Americans." Before however, he could carry out this intended iniquity, Wingenund and Captain Pipe's brother brought them a summons from de Peyster to appear at Detroit "for trial." It was a journey of peril and suffering that ended on November 8, 1781, when, says Heckewelder, "having survived a dreadful night, we were approaching a fine town, in which we hoped to be so fortunate as to meet with some one hospitable person, who could furnish us with an early and warm breakfast which we were so much in need of; we had to stand on the drawbridge a long time, until the pleasure of the commandant, who resided at the east end of the town was known; we were permitted to proceed; curiosity had drawn the inhabitants into the street to see what kind of people these were; the few cloaths we had on our backs, and those tattered and torn, might cause them to cast looks of contempt on us; but we did not find this to be the case. After standing some time in the street, opposite the dwelling of the commandant,

we were brought in before him, where we, on an empty stomach, shivering with cold, worn down by the journey, and not free from rheumatic pains, again had to stand, until we had undergone a kind of examination." Here we temporarily leave the Moravian exiles while we resume the course of events in the Ohio country.

Clark, now located at Louisville, had never abandoned his determination to accomplish the capture of Detroit and thus destroy the British stronghold in the west. In the autumn of the year 1779, Clark, as colonel of the Illinois-Virginia regiment, had called a council of war at the Falls of the Ohio, to consider the practicability of a military expedition against the British, either at Detroit or the Floridas, for the latter were then in the British possession. Several Kentucky captains were present at this council, but nothing came of the deliberations as Colonel Clark was occupied the ensuing year, and more, with military movements which we have related. But Clark was indefatigable. Towards the close of 1780 we find him in Virginia, assisting the Continental forces in resisting the capture of Richmond by the British. At this time Clark secured the approval of Governor Jefferson, to the proposed Detroit expedition. Washington also supported the proposition, by writing to Jefferson very minute suggestions as to the equipment of Clark's proposed army of two thousand. Washington had long contemplated the purpose of this expedition, hoping the Continental powers might enter into it. Disappointed in this he said: "The State of Virginia has determined to undertake an expedition which I

have ever had in view, and which I wished to carry into execution by a Continental force; but you (Brodhead) are sufficiently acquainted with the situation of our affairs, both as to men and supplies, to know that it has been impossible to attempt it. It is the reduction of the post at Detroit."

Following the lengthy instructions of Washington, Governor Jefferson on February 13, 1781, wrote General Clark that preparations were on foot to execute the proposed plans. Jefferson and the Virginia authorities made Clark a Brigadier-General of the forces of the expedition. Colonel John Gibson was to be Clark's second in command and was to gather the ammunition and supplies at Fort Pitt. But conditions proved most unfavorable to the project. Clark wanted two thousand men. They could not be spared from the Continental Army, which the Revolution had reduced to a dangerous degree of depletion. And the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which were expected to supply Clark's recruits, were in no position to respond; the men of the fighting population felt that they were needed nearer home, and moreover Continental money had become so worthless that recruits were likely to go practically unpaid. Other means of raising men failing, a military draft was attempted. But, as revealed by the reports of the county lieutenants, in the Virginia State Papers, the opposition was well nigh irresistible. But Clark, says his historian, English, failing at one point turned hopefully to another and never relaxed his efforts. It was found that Gibson, then in command at Fort Pitt, and his regiment could not be spared for the

campaign and Clark hastened to Fort Pitt, whence he wrote most appealing letters to Washington and Jefferson for aid. Finally, Clark, undaunted by failure on every hand, left Fort Pitt, June 15, 1781, not with two thousand men as contemplated, but with less than four hundred. Additional troops were expected to overtake him, on the way, but none ever did. On August 4th, Clark's command reached Fort Henry at Wheeling, at which point a delay was intended until the arrival of a force under Colonel Archibald Lochry —sometimes printed Laughery—but Clark's soldiers were restless and disposed to desert and Clark reluctantly pushed on down the river.

Colonel Archibald Lochry was the county lieutenant of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and at Clark's earnest solicitation had assembled a command of one hundred and twenty county militia, comprising a company of volunteer riflemen raised by Captain Robert Orr, and two companies of rangers under Captains Samuel Shannon and Thomas Stockley—also spelled Stokely—and a company of horsemen under Captain William Campbell. These "companies" were of course small, as, says English, "there were but one hundred and seven men in the party when they passed down the Ohio."

Lochry's reënforcement reached Fort Henry on August 8th, four days after the departure of Clark, who had now gone twelve miles further down the river, leaving for Lochry some provisions and a travelling boat with directions to follow as soon as possible. Lochry's men, after preparing some temporary boats for the transportation of men and horses, which oc-

cupied ten days, proceeded to overtake Clark. Arriving at the latter's last stopping point, they found he had gone on down the river the day before, leaving behind for Lochry's benefit, Lieutenant Creacraft—or Craycroft—with a few men and a boat for transportation of horses, but without either provisions or ammunition, both of which Lochry greatly needed. Clark also left word that he would wait the arrival of Lochry at the mouth of the Kanawha, but when the belated party reached that point they found that Clark had been obliged, in order to keep his men from deserting, to proceed down the river, leaving only a letter affixed to a pole, directing Lochry to follow on down the river. But the river was low and none of the Lochry party knew the channel and their supplies were so exhausted that they abandoned the attempt to overtake Clark with their whole force, deciding rather to send Captain Shannon with seven men in a "swift moving boat," to overtake Clark, if possible, and inform him of the distressing situation.

During the absence of Captain Shannon, Lieutenant Isaac Anderson was left in command of his company. This, says English, under ordinary circumstances, was a wise determination, and would doubtless have been successful but for an overwhelming and unexpected disaster which occurred to Captain Shannon and most of his men. They were captured by the Indians and with them the letter to Clark, unfortunately disclosing the helpless condition of Lochry's party and also revealing the fact that Clark's party had preceded and the American forces were thus divided. In short the whole scheme of advance was made known to

the Indians, who hastily collected, three hundred strong, from various tribes, under able leaders, about eleven miles below the mouth of the Great Miami

The Indians forced Shannon's party, under promise of release, to station themselves at the upper end of an island, now called Lochry, located about three miles below a creek, also called Lochry, which flows into the Ohio from Indiana, a small stream, the course of which is the dividing line between Ohio and Dearborn counties. These "decoy prisoners" of Shannon's company were to hail Lochry's soldiers when appearing and induce them to surrender on the plea that the Indian warriors, gathered on the adjacent shore, were overwhelmingly in the ascendancy. The Lochry party however were attacked before reaching the island, probably at or near the mouth of the Lochry Creek, where the Americans had stopped their boats and taken their horses ashore to graze. It was August 24th and Lieutenant Anderson in his journal says: "Colonel Lochry ordered the boats to land on the Indiana shore, about ten miles below the mouth of the Great Meyamee (Miami) River, to cook provisions and cut grass for the horses, when we were fired on by a party of Indians from the bank. We took to our boats, expecting to cross the river, and were fired on by another party in a number of canoes, and soon we became a prey to them. They killed the colonel and a number more after they were prisoners. The number of ours killed was about forty. They marched us that night about eight miles up the river and encamped." It was an indescribable massacre, forty-two were shot or tomahawked and scalped in cold

blood, among them Colonel Lochry. The surviving sixty-two men were made prisoners. The assaulting Indians divided the plunder and the prisoners and set off next day for their Ohio towns, meeting before separating, a party of British—one hundred rangers, according to Butterfield—and numerous Indians, all under Captains Alexander McKee, Andrew Thompson and Simon Girty.

The main portion of this force hastened on to the Ohio to watch Clark and his army, which had taken quarters at Louisville. The gory disaster, which destroyed Lochry's force and put an end to Clark's plans was followed by an episode of thrilling interest, concerning which authorities are somewhat in conflict, but which must not go unrecorded in our narrative.

According to the Draper Manuscripts and the Washington-Irvine correspondence, George Girty and Joseph Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief, were with and presumably directed the Indians who intercepted and killed or captured the members of Lochry's party. Just why Brant should have been there, so far away from home, at that time, is not clear and Stone, the biographer of Brant, makes no mention of it. But the testimony of the above authorities, accepted by Butterfield, is that after the defeat of Lochry, when George Girty and Brant, having started on their return to the Indian centers, met the British force under McKee and Simon Girty, the latter and Brant fell into a serious altercation. Captain Brant, so runs the story, elated over the success of his encounter with Lochry, and further excited by potations of fire water, unduly boasted of his prowess and achievements before Simon

Girty, whose envy was unduly aroused. The renegade, probably also under the influence of his favorite beverage, bluntly told the imperious Brant that he lied. The insult was instantly resented and the savage Thayendanego (Brant), according to the personal statement (in 1864) to Mr. Draper by Mrs. Sarah Munger, then the only surviving child of the famous Simon Girty, "struck a sword blow across the right side of Girty's head, inflicting an ugly wound over the right ear to the top of his head, so that the beating of his brain was plainly discernible—the wound was three inches long and when healed over could lay one's finger lengthwise in the place." It came nearly terminating the career of the venturesome Girty, who, as soon as he was able retired to Upper Sandusky where he remained during the winter of 1781-2. He ever after carried a deep scar upon his forehead, always explaining that he had received the saber-cut in battle! Mrs. Munger, further stated to Mr. Draper that after the affair, "Brant shed tears and fell on his knees and begged Girty's forgiveness and Girty forgave him; they subsequently served together but Girty always represented that Brant never placed himself where there was danger."

It was quite certain now that Clark's invasion of the interior was frustrated and it required much persuasion on the part of McKee and Brant to induce the Indians to proceed further toward the Falls in pursuit of Clark. On September 9th, when within thirty miles of Louisville, the Indian leaders learned that Clark had abandoned his expedition, whereupon the British and many Indians immediately began to

CHIEF JOSEPH BRANT

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disperse and set out for their Canadian and Ohio settlements. However, according to Butterfield, two hundred Wyandots and Miamis, under McKee and Brant, moved southward into Kentucky "to attack some of the small forts and infest the roads." McKee and Brant's party, with which was George Girty, succeeded in killing a number of men, women and children at Long Run; after which, these warriors, too, returned to their homes.

Clark's men found their way back to their Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Virginia homes as best they could and thus ended the fond dream of the intrepid commander that he might be the hero of the capture of Detroit.

"I am sorry to hear," afterwards wrote Washington, "of the failure of General Clark's expedition, of which I was always doubtful, as it was to be carried on with militia. But of this I am convinced, that the possession or destruction of Detroit is the only means of giving peace and security to the western frontier, and that when it is undertaken, it should be by such a force as should not risk a disappointment."

Chapter XV.

THE MORAVIAN MASSACRE

IF the disappointment of Clark was great, that he could not accomplish his long-cherished plan to seize the British stronghold on the Detroit River, it must have been in great measure alleviated by the fact that when his disbanded men, after wearied journeyings, reached their homes, they learned of the American victory and the British surrender at Yorktown, which occurred on October 19, 1781.

On the 6th of November, 1781, General Irvine made official announcement of "the great and glorious news" of the surrender of Cornwallis, and ordered thirteen pieces of artillery to be fired in Fort Pitt at ten o'clock. And Mr. Chapman, in "Old Pittsburgh Days," adds, the further glorious proclamation was that "The commissaries will issue a gill of whiskey, extraordinary, to the non-commissioned officers and privates upon this joyful occasion." As the higher officials and the citizens were not limited to a gill, extraordinary, there is no doubt that the glad news was ratified in right royal style in the good town of Pittsburg.

American independence was assured and the Revolution in the Seaboard States was at an end. Not so however in the trans-Allegheny country. There the story with many bloody and harrowing details was to continue for more than a decade.

We left captive Moravian missionaries in the presence of de Peyster, on that bleak November day after their journey of more than two hundred miles from their Ohio homes. Their examination was delayed by the French commandant, until the arrival of Captain Pipe, who was to be the principal witness, if not the main accusant. Hearing that the wily chief had come

and lay encamped near the Detroit fort, Zeisberger trustfully turned to him for friendly treatment, sending him a string and speech, imploring him to appeal to de Peyster in behalf of the captive missionaries that they might be restored to their Ohio homes and Indian converts. "How sad it is," Zeisberger writes in his journal, "to know that our fate depends upon a savage and he, the bitter enemy of the Gospel, when we are among persons who call themselves Christians." Captain Pipe accepted the string and speech but made no promises. The trial took place in the council-chamber of de Peyster's quarters, the next day after Captain Pipe entered Detroit with his Delaware and Mingo bands, exultantly whooping and brandishing the scalps of their victims. The Delaware chief addressed de Peyster in "a very remarkable and spirited manner," stating he had obeyed orders and brought the Christian Indians captive to Detroit and then he briefly plead for the safety of the Moravians, stating they were innocent of wrong against the British. After a searching examination of the missionaries, during which Zeisberger made a lengthy statement of the Moravian attitude towards the British and Americans, de Peyster gave his verdict which was that he was not opposed to these missionaries preaching the Gospel among the Indians, but that they must not meddle with the war; they could return to their converts and that they might do so with comfort he would supply them with clothing from the public stores.

De Schweinitz in commenting on the above event, justly remarks, that the readiness with which de Peyster accepted the explanation of Captain Pipe

presents his character in a favorable light when compared with that of Hamilton. Like his predecessor, de Peyster encouraged the cruelties of Indian warfare, "but these belonged to that inhuman policy which the Americans had, by this time, learned almost as well as the English." But while Hamilton pursued it with violent vindictiveness, de Peyster regarded it as a necessary evil. "The one was a vulgar ruffian; the other, a high-toned gentleman."

Thus honorably released, Zeisberger and his party hastened back to their families and people at Captives' Town, where they related to their rejoicing friends the narrative of their journey and happy acquittal.

The Moravian exiles longed for their homes on the Tuscarawas, but those, alas, were desolate and ruined; the ruthless result of the destructive invasion of Pomoacan, Captains Elliott and Pipe and their British and tribal forces, in the early fall of 1781, as previously described. The heartless despoilers however had left a few Indian converts in the three Tuscarawas centers, but these remaining Moravian dwellers were in immediate danger not only from the hostile Indians of the West but also from the suspicious whites on the Ohio frontier. It was deemed best by the colonial military authorities that these Moravian villages be completely broken up and the few tribesmen, lingering therein, be persuaded to move further away or seek Fort Pitt for protection. To carry this decision into effect, a company of some seventy-five Pennsylvania borderers, commanded by Colonel David Williamson, set out for these towns, in November 1781. This was while the Zeisberger exiles were on their way to Detroit.

Colonel Williamson, on arriving at the Tuscarawas villages, found them practically destroyed and nearly deserted, only a few Indians remaining in them. These he made prisoners, among them, Shebosh, the famous half-breed convert, and carried them to Fort Pitt. But Colonel John Gibson, at that time commandant of the fort, released them, and they, in spite of threatening dangers, returned to their devastated villages.

The Detroit refugees, therefore, resolved to remain at Captives' Town and pursuant to that determination and as a thank offering for their deliverance, they proceeded to erect a temple of worship, which by the first of December was completed and dedicated—"a structure of poles laid horizontally between upright stakes, the crevices being filled with moss"—a crude structure but harboring the faith of a simple folk as steadfast and ardent as that of the early Christian martyrs.

But their religious zeal did not put clothing on their backs nor nourishing food in their starving bodies. It was a winter of unusual severity; the provisions at Captives' Town soon gave out and there was no source of supply to make good the want. "Many a time," in that winter, wrote Mrs. Zeisberger, "the Indians shared their last morsel with me, for many a time I spent eight days without any food of my own." In the midst of this distress, some of the converts, whom Williamson had carried off to Pittsburg, returning, took refuge amid their friends at Captives' Town.

When the suffering and want was at its worst, Pomoacan, the Wyandot Half-King, to whose supervision they were subject, visited the mission and

learned of their desperate condition, and while rudely expressing his disapproval of their preaching and praying, he granted their request to be permitted to send a portion of their number to the grain fields about their Tuscarawas towns where corn of the previous year's husbandry still hung unplucked. It was late in February (1782), as soon as the snow began slightly to subside, that "about one hundred and fifty Christian Indians"—the younger and stronger members of the mission—left the Captives' Town for the Tuscarawas. Scarcely had they departed when a runner arrived at Zeisberger's cabin, summoning him to the Half-King's village. There he found a council of Wyandots and Delawares, and with them Simon Girty, who brought a message from de Peyster again summoning the teachers and their families to Detroit. Little wonder their hearts sank within them, for they had once more based their hopes on a permanent mission on the Sandusky, which should be as prosperous as the previous ones had been in the valley of the Tuscarawas. It was a terrible blow to their leader Zeisberger. "If we were to be slain it would be better, we should then be relieved of all our troubles; but now we seem to be reserved for many deaths," he wrote in his journal.

Giving a pledge to Girty that in two weeks he would, with the teachers and their families, meet him at Lower Sandusky, Zeisberger dispatched runners to the country round about and to the Tuscarawas to recall the converts, that all might prepare for the departure of the teachers. Those near by came at once, but those from the Tuscarawas came not. A second mes-

senger was sent for them and still not one returned. Suddenly there arrived in the Captives' Town a Delaware warrior with the startling announcement that the Moravians on the Tuscarawas had been slaughtered by American militia. Zeisberger could not credit the story, there must be some mistake, or it was a false rumor. Gathering his faithful followers about him with pathetic exhortations that they "stand fast in the faith and endure to the end," Zeisberger and his little company of assistants, Heckewelder and Senseman and their families, started on their journey, under guidance of the Frenchman Lavallie, to Lower Sandusky, thence they were escorted to Detroit by Simon Girty, whom Albach charges with being responsible for their recall by de Peyster on the charge of the renegade that the Moravians were in friendly correspondence with the Americans at Pittsburg. We cannot follow that weary and sad journey to Detroit, for we have more heart-rending scenes to recount.

We have already seen, in the history of their mission towns, how the Moravian Indians were the subjects of suspicion, hostility and ravaging war from the twofold enemy; on the one hand, the British and their savage allies, especially the Shawnees, Mingoes and Wyandots; on the other, at times, the frontiersmen across the Ohio on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The location of the Moravian villages, so well chosen for their proselyting purpose, was on the dividing line between the bitterly contending nations. Both sides, took advantage of the Christian neutrality of these devoted Disciples of the Prince of Peace, and used the Moravian villages as "half-way houses," at

which to "halt and refresh themselves whether starting on a foray or returning with scalps and plunder."

The hostile tribesmen regarded the Christian Indians as traitors to their race and the British regarded their "neutrality" as a guise under which they aided the colonists. Moreover the marauding tribesmen, unable to goad or cajole the Moravians into complicity with them, took malicious pleasure in trying to embroil them in the racial conflict and on returning from raids against over-the-Ohio settlements, often passed through their towns and tarried there for rest and carousal thereby arousing the suspicion of the frontiersmen that the friendliness of the Indian converts to the whites was not sincere. Colonel Gibson offered them protection at Fort Pitt; de Peyster urged them to take refuge at Detroit. Loskiel puts it; the Half-King of the Wyandots, tried to pursuade them to abandon their dangerous position and to come well within the British lines, saying: "Two mighty and angry gods stand opposite to each other with their mouths wide open, and you are between them, and are in danger of being crushed by one or the other or by both."

That the frontier settlers should have preserved full faith in and, at the risk of their lives, protected the Moravians, there was every reason in the world; the military authorities at Fort Pitt knew perfectly well that the Indians of the missions were not only what they pretended to be, but that they had frequently received information from them of intended Indian raids among the settlements that enabled the colonists to defend themselves. Still among the backwoodsmen this knowledge, for obvious reasons, did not prevail

and the opinion constantly gained ground that the Moravian settlements on the Muskingum were simply temporary quarters for the "wild Indians" on their plundering and scalping tours and that the frontiersmen would get no permanent relief until those villages were once for all wiped out. That attempt had indeed already been made, and all but accomplished, by the British and hostile Indians, and the doomed centers of Schoenbrunn, Salem and Gnadenhutten, as we saw, were well-nigh depopulated, but at this moment the Christian Indians, who rashly remained after the invasion of Pomoacan, were augmented by the relief-seeking party from Captives' Town; the absentees that did not return at the call of Zeisberger. Strange destiny that these peace-seeking Moravians should meet their dreadful doom at the hands of those they had befriended. They were neutral, it is true, equally to both sides, so far as any warlike activity was concerned, but their sympathy lay with the Americans and the occasions were numerous when they gave information, often life-saving, to the frontiersmen. This was the complaint of the British and the charge of the tribesmen, and critical authorities have not failed to note that in their plea before de Peyster, at the first hearing, Zeisberger and his assistants made stronger denial of their alleged assistance to the Americans, than the actual facts warranted. Even if that be true, the customs of war, if not the rights of trial, justified the averments of Zeisberger. But his character and his career forbid for an instant the belief that he intentionally varied from the strictest truth.

It should be also acknowledged that one cause for some, at least slight, justification for the increasing enmity of the bordermen for the Moravians, was the fact, inevitable under the circumstances, that, at times, some of the young Christian Indians would repudiate their conversion, rejoin their heathen brethren and with the latter go upon the warpath against the Americans.

Events during the winter of 1781-2 were especially exasperating to the Ohio frontiersmen. The "wild Indians," as Roosevelt calls them, from the Ohio interior had made many petty raids, committing brutal murders in the unprotected or unwarned backwoods settlements. These deeds and the recent wholesale slaughter of Lochry's party, cried aloud for vengeance, and this sentiment of retaliation against the Moravians was perhaps fanned into a flame in February, when a band of savages crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Yellow Creek and stealthily proceeding along the dividing ridge between King's and Travis creeks attacked the cabin of Robert Wallace. The stock was killed, the cabin looted and set on fire and Mrs. Wallace and her three children, one an infant, carried away prisoners. The mother being unable to keep up the required pace of rapid retreat, on account of the burden of her babe, both were tomahawked and buried in a hidden grave by the trailside.

The return route of the marauders took them to the Moravian villages, and it is credibly stated by some chroniclers that the blood-stained dress of Mrs. Wallace was found in the possession of the Christian Indians. The date and details of the Wallace murder

are not uniformly related by its various reciters, but be that as it may, the incident in the main is typical of the period and representative of those that directly or indirectly led to the massacre at Gnadenhutten. The clamor for bloody measures at last reached its climax and word was passed along in Washington county, Pennsylvania, for the assembly of a company willing to enter upon desperate work.

We are persuaded that careful perusal of all the available evidence in this affair will lead to the conviction that the expedition, about to be described, was in its inception and execution a purely volunteer one and without any county or state authority, military or civil.

As Mr. William M. Farrar shows, in his thorough study, the results of which were presented in an address to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the affair had no official sanction, much less direction: "This expedition which originated in the western township of Washington County, Pennsylavnia, during the fall and winter of 1781, has been represented as a military one, authorized by the lawfully constituted military authority of that county, commanded by a regularly commissioned militia officer, and called out in the regular way. And yet no such order has ever been found, nor is there any muster roll in existence giving the list of names of the officers and privates composing the expedition, showing to what companies or battalion of the enrolled militia of the country they belonged, nor has any claim for services rendered, damages sustained, provisions furnished, arms provided, or property lost, ever been presented either

against the state or general government, by any person claiming to have been a member of the expedition. Neither is there any official report of the expedition extant, made by either Col. Williamson, the officer in command, or by James Marshal, the lieutenant of the county who was responsible for it, if any such expedition was ordered out, or by Brigadier General Irvine, the commandant at Fort Pitt in whose department it occurred."

With the above conclusion, as Mr. Farrar admits, Mr. Butterfield, "an accurate and careful historian," has taken issue. But Mr. Butterfield bases his opinion upon a single statement made by General Irvine in a letter written from Fort Pitt—two months after the massacre—May 3, 1782, to President Moore of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. In September (1781) General Brodhead relinquished his office to Colonel John Gibson who in turn was superseded, October 11, by General William Irvine, as commandant of the Western Military Department. General Irvine was a native of Ireland, of Scotch descent, a graduate of the Unversity of Dublin, had served the colonial cause in the Revolution and was a most capable and accomplished officer.

In the letter mentioned above, General Irvine wrote: "On receipt of your excellency's letter of the 13th of April, I wrote to Colonel James Marshal, who ordered out the militia to go to Muskingum [to that branch known as the Tuscarawas] for his and Colonel Williamson's report of the matter; Colonel Williamson commanded the party. Inclosed you have their letters to me on the subject by way of report." Mr. Farrar,

after quoting the above, concludes: "That General Irvine wrote to Marshal and Williamson for their reports of the matter, and transmitted the letters received from them in reply to the President of the Council, 'by way of report,' as stated, is no doubt correct. But to assume that these were the official reports of the transaction is not warranted." Perhaps the most convincing bit of evidence of the guerrilla character of the expedition is the letter of President Moore to General Irvine, on May 30, 1782, nearly three months after the event, in which letter Mr. Moore says: "Your favors of the 2d, 3d and 9th of the present month, with the representations made by Colonel Williamson and Colonel Marshal have been read in Council and shall be immediately laid before Congress as a matter of high importance to the reputation of this State and to the general interest and honor of the United States; we request that you will continue you enquiries on this subject and transmit us such information from time to time, as may come to your knowledge tending to elucidate this dark transaction." This apparently exculpates the state and national authorities from any sanction or even foreknowledge of "this dark transaction."

A letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Cook of Westmoreland county, to President Moore, in the following September, reveals the public sentiment: "The Savages have been tolerable these few weeks Past, what they are about we Cannot Determine. I am Informed that you have it Reported that the Massacre of the Moravian Indians Obtain the Approbation of Every man on this side of the Mountains, which I

assure your Excellency is false, that the Better Part of the Community are of Opinion the Perpetrators of that Wicked Deed ought to be Brought to Condein Punishment, that without something is Done by Government in the Matter, it will Disgrace the Annals of the United States, and be an Everlasting Plea and Cover for British Cruelty."

This controversy, however, as to the authority or non-authority for the expedition is not pertinent to the relation of the facts of the campaign; the discussion, rather, is evoked for the purpose of mitigating, if possible, the responsibility of the proceedings by relieving the American military and civil officers of all blame by the plea that it rested on a "mob" of unlicensed backwoodsmen. That many of these men were of high standing among their neighbors, there is no doubt and not a few belonged to the militia, though, as Roosevelt suggests: "It was of course, just such an expedition as most attracted the brutal, the vicious and the ruffianly; but a few decent men, to their shame, went along." But that the company was "unofficial" is clearly established. General Irvine could not have issued orders for its organization or action and Albach notes that "as soon as General Gibson heard of their designs, he dispatched messengers to the Indians to warn them of their danger, but they arrived too late."

It was "on Monday, the 4th of March," says Mr. Farrar, when "men in couples, squads and singly, on horseback and on foot, appeared suddenly on the east bank of the River Mingo [in Ohio], crossed over to the west side, where, when all had assembled, they

chose officers, and on the next morning disappeared, going west along the old Moravian trail up Cross Creek."

They numbered between eighty and ninety, when assembling at the Mingo, some fifty more had started from Washington county; but the Ohio River being high and difficult to cross and the weather cold and stormy, one-third of the original volunteers abandoned the undertaking and turned back. Many of these men had not told their own families of the purpose of their departure or where they were going; each man furnished his own ammunition, arms, and provisions; and those who were mounted furnished their own horses. At Mingo Bottom they elected David Williamson captain, a choice probably well agreed upon by the prospective volunteers before the expedition was under way, for Williamson was a native Pennsylvanian of the age of thirty; a captain in the county militia; possessed of all the qualities of a brave and heroic frontiersman.

On Wednesday evening they encamped within one mile of Gnadenhutten, carefully concealing their approach until the next morning, when dividing their force, they moved upon the village from both sides of the river, Williamson sending one company to strike the river below the town, a second to cross the stream above and cut off retreat in that direction, while the third company, forming the center, should advance upon the place directly.

Their coming was discovered by Joseph Shebosh, —son of John Joseph Shebosh, an early convert—a half-breed and one of the most prominent Christian Indians, who was killed and scalped while piteously

pleading for his life. Others were shot or tomahawked before the town was entered. They found most of the Indians in the adjacent fields, quietly gathering the corn. Heckewelder in his Narrative implies that their very occupation and appearance was evidence of their non-combative disposition: "The Christian Indians were well known by their dress, which was plain and decent, no sign of paint to be seen on their skin or cloathes —no feathers about their heads, nor these shaved and trimmed, as every Indian warrior does; but wearing their hair as we do. These, with other marks on them, were alone sufficient to prove that they were not warriors."

And Mr. Stone, in his "Life of Brant," pays this tribute to the Moravians: "A more humble, devout, and exemplary community of Christians, probably, was not at that day to be found in the new world. Under the untiring instructions of their missionaries, they had been taught the dress and practices of civilized life. They were tillers of the soil, and had become so well acquainted with the usages of society, and were so well furnished with the necessaries and some of the luxuries of life, that they could set a comfortable table and a cup of coffee before a stranger."

Feigning a friendly behavior, the Americans requested them to assemble in the village and "even pretended to pity them on account of the mischief done to them by the English and the savages; assuring them of the protection and friendship of the Americans." The confiding converts, not knowing of the murders already committed, returned to their village huts and offered to the Americans such hospitality as they could provide.

With resignation the Indians received the information that they would not be permitted to return to the Sandusky but would be taken to Fort Pitt, where they would be free from any harm either by the British or by the "wild Indians." Relying upon this assurance, "they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets and other weapons, to the murderers; who promised to take care of them and in Pittsburg to return every article to its rightful owner."

Meanwhile one or more of the beguiled Indians, accompanied by members of Williamson's company, were despatched to Salem to summon the Moravians at that place to Gnadenhutten. These Salem Indians, likewise, unquestionably accepted the message that on their arrival at Gnadenhutten they would be protected by the Americans and taken to Pittsburg, where they believed they would be well cared for. But the confiding trust of the Salem party, in their pretended protectors, was of short duration, for as they entered Gnadenhutten they were at once surrounded by the armed frontiersmen, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket-knives and conducted, bound and defenseless, into the village, where they were divided and confined in two of the log houses, in which the Gnadenhutten Indians had been imprisoned, the women and children in one and the men in the other.

Among the assailants there were, however, some in whom conscience and humanity were not entirely extinct and their non-compliance with the most extreme measures led the company to deliberate during the day of the seventh, on what should be the fate of their victims. Some of Williamson's men, realizing the

enormity of their original purpose, were in favor of releasing the Indians, or at worst taking them captive to Fort Pitt, where the United States authorities would be responsible for the sequence; "some were for burning them alive, others for taking their scalps." Doddridge in his notes reports: "A council of war was held to decide their fate. The officers, unwilling to take on themselves the whole responsibility of the awful decision, agreed to refer the question to the whole number of men."

The men were accordingly drawn up in line and the commandant Captain Williamson, who, it is claimed, was opposed to violent measures, put the question to them: "Whether the Moravian Indians should be taken prisoners to Pittsburg or put to death?" and requested that all those who were in favor of saving their lives should step out of rank. On this, eighteen, —one in five—"a paltry eighteen," stepped forward and formed themselves into a second line; "but alas! this line of mercy was far too short for that of vengeance." The mode of execution created not a little debate. At last it lay, says De Schweinitz, between two proposals; one, to set fire to the guard-houses and burn the captives alive; the other, which prevailed, to tomahawk and scalp them. The fate of the Moravians was thus decided and they were told to prepare for death. Captain Williamson, one of his company afterwards testified, "did what he could in a mild, arguing sort of way," to avert the carrying out of the dreadful decision, but all to no avail. This was the evening of the seventh, the very day the Moravians had previously agreed upon to set out on their return

to Captives' Town with the provisions of relief for their distressed brethren. But the terror-stricken prisoners from the time they were disarmed and placed in confinement, foresaw their fate and "began their devotions of singing hymns, praying and exhorting each other to place a firm reliance in the mercy of the Savior of Men."

When their fate was told them, "these devoted people embraced, kissed, and bedewing each other's faces and bosoms with their mutual tears, asked pardon of the brothers and sisters for any offense they might have given them through life." Solemnly protesting their innocence, they nevertheless declared themselves willing to die and asked no favor other than time to prepare for death. This was granted them and the following morning fixed for the execution.

"There now ensued a scene that deserves to find a place in the history of the primitive martyrs; shut up in their two prisons, the converts began to sing and pray, to exhort and comfort one another, to mutually unburden their consciences and acknowledge their sins." "As the hours," says De Schweinitz, "wore away, and the night deepened, and the end drew near, triumphant anticipations of heaven mingled with their hymns and prayers; converted heathens taught their Christian slayers what it means to die, as more than conquerors."

At last the morning broke, "the air was raw and chilly, and gusts of wind and soft snow would at times sweep through the air," and the slayers, impatient to begin their work of blood, brutally called to their captives, whether they would not soon be ready. "We

are now ready," was the reply. Several of the butcherers immediately seized Abraham, surnamed the Mohican, one of the patriarchs of the converts, "whose long, flowing beard had attracted their notice the day before as fit for making a fine scalp, tied him and another convert with a rope, and dragged them to the cooper shop, the "slaughter house," selected for the killing of the men. The two were deliberately slain and scalped. The rest, says De Schweinitz, whose account we are closely following, suffered in the same way, two by two. When all the men and boys were dead, the women and small children were brought out, two by two as before, taken to the "slaughter house" selected for the women, and "dispatched with the same systematic barbarity." Tomahawks, mallets, war-clubs, spears, and scalping knives were used to effect the slaughter.

It appears only a portion of the Williamson company acted as assassins, the remainder approvingly witnessing the butchery, save the eighteen who voted against the wholesale murder; these heroes of humanity would not even countenance the crime by their presence and betook themselves to a position on the river bank where they might not see the enactment of the damnable taking off of the innocent Indians.

"Thus," reports Loskiel, "ninety-six persons magnified the name of the Lord, by patiently meeting a cruel death." Sixty-two were grown persons and thirty-four were children. Five of the adults were "most valuable assistants"—teachers of the Moravian faith; one being Isaac Glikkikan, formerly the great warrior, and chief of the Wolf clan of the Delawares,

after his conversion one of the most illustrious and faithful of the Indian converts; likewise his wife, Anna Benigna, who took the pony of one of the Sandusky warriors and rode all night to notify the garrison at Fort McIntosh of the proposed Indian attack on Fort Henry; another was Captain Johnny, the chief of the Turtle clan of the Delaware tribe. Only two escaped, Jacob, a young boy, who slipped through a trap door into the cellar of the house in which were slain the women and children; escaping he hid in a clump of hazel bushes and was afterwards joined by another Indian boy, Thomas, who, struck on the head by a mallet, and scalped, lay as if dead until night, when he got away and joined Jacob. In their place of secretion these two lads, of fourteen and fifteen years of age, watched the murderers set fire to the "slaughter houses" and "make merry over the result of their work and then with savage shouts and oaths start for Schoenbrunn," where they expected to repeat the crime committed at Gnadenhutten.

But the dwellers at Schoenbrunn had received news by messengers of the attack on Gnadenhutten and providentially made their escape and when Williamson's band appeared they found the village deserted and were obliged to satiate their war-lust by looting the houses and setting the town on fire. Returning to Gnadenhutten the incendiary work was made complete by the burning of the "slaughter houses," the bloody bodies of the dead therein being reduced to heaps of ashes. Seizing the plunder, a rapid retreat was made for their home settlements. "They must have traveled all night," according to Farrar, "for they reached

Mingo late in the afternoon of Saturday, where they halted only long enough to readjust the packages of plunder to their horses, when they recrossed the river and disappeared from public notice as completely as if they had perished in crossing the stream."

In the stories of "Our Western Border," by Charles McKnight, the harrowing details of the Moravian massacre are presented as told by the Rev. Edward Christy, who as a member of Williamson's company, was "a protesting and horrified witness of the dreadful drama," being one of the eighteen who refused to participate in the infamous slaughter. Christy's recital, told in language of such lurid realism as to well nigh suggest dramatic exaggeration, gives the final scene as follows: "Hastily gathering up their ill-gotten and blood-stained plunder, they started for home, driving before them about fifty stolen horses. Some two weeks later a band of Williamson's men marched to Smoky Island, opposite Fort Pitt; attacked a settlement of peaceful and friendly Delawares dwelling there, under Killbuck and Big Cat. The assaulting bordermen killed several of the Indians. The rest, with their chief, fled to Sandusky. The borderers, after the devastation of Smoky Island proceeded to Pittsburg, boasting of their inhuman atrocities, and ending their brutalities by having a public vendue of all the blankets, guns, horses and other booty so vilely and meanly stolen."

We grant the last word concerning this "deed of dreadful note" that reddens the bloodiest page in American history, an ensanguined story that "all the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten," to Edmund De

Schweinitz, who was the principal speaker at the dedication of the monument, June 5, 1872, at Gnadenhutten, when the marble shaft now standing in the village cemetery, near the scene of the slaughter, was put in place to commemorate the event of ninety years before. There was then present a concourse of people among whom there mingled with equal interest and veneration, descendants of the martyred Moravians and of the men under Williamson. In his life of Zeisberger, De Schweinitz closes his description of that never to be forgotten day, in March, 1781, in these words: "It was not carnage perpetrated in the flush of victory, ere the heat and passion of battle have passed away. It was not as when a long-beleagured city is taken, and half-intoxicated horsemen dash through the streets, hewing right and left with their sabers, and sparing neither age nor sex. It was a butchery in cold blood, without the least excitation of feeling, as leisurely and dispassionately done as when animals are slaughtered for the shambles."

Chapter XVI.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST SANDUSKY

IN "Annals of the West," the author, James R. Albach—an interesting writer but a fallible authority—erroneously asserts: "The success of the expedition of Williamson, excited the borderers to prepare another invasion of the Indian country, to finish the destruction of the Christian Indians by the massacre of the fugitives at Sandusky; it was set on foot immediately after the return of Williamson's party from the Muskingum."

Public sentiment among the borderers, as we have already shown, would not have tolerated another crime like that at Gnadenhutten. Preparations, however, were at once set on foot for an expedition against the Indians of Sandusky, but it was directed against the hostile tribesmen, the allies of England, dwelling at that place, and not against the Moravians, as Albach would have it believed.

The British defeated and the Revolution at an end in the East, the hopes of England and the efforts of her waning power centered in the Northwest, and de Peyster pushed with redoubled energy his policy of rallying and urging forth the Ohio tribes against further encroachments by the borderers. De Peyster had not abandoned plans against Fort Pitt, while the Americans now renewed their long cherished designs to possess Detroit. The Revolution was indeed to continue to rage with unabated savagery in the Ohio country.

It was the memorable year of 1782, the "bloody year," in which were enacted so many woeful and tragic events. The Wyandot settlement known as Sandusky, became, during this period, the storm center

of the contending British-Indian and American forces. It was in the midst of the territory in which were located the Wyandots, Shawnees, Delawares and Mingoes.

Referring to the modern map of Ohio, it will be seen that the Sandusky River, originating at the "Palmer Springs" in Springfield township, Richland county, where it is called the Little Sandusky, flows west through Crawford county, Bucyrus now being on its banks, into Wyandot county, in which it turns north and finds its way through Seneca and Sandusky counties, watering the present towns of Tiffin and Fremont, and finally emptying into the Sandusky Bay. Just before emerging from Wyandot county, the Sandusky or Little Sandusky River, is joined by the Tymochtee, a Wyandot word meaning "around the plains." The "plains" was the level section bounded, in general, on the north by the (Little) Sandusky, on the east by the Olentangy, on the south by the Scioto, and on the west by the Tymochtee.

These "plains" lying between the headwaters of the Sandusky and Tymochtee, that flowed north and those of the Olentangy and Scioto that flowed south, were in those Indian days overgrown with high coarse grass, with here and there slight surface elevations called "islands" which were covered with timber. Over these "Sandusky Plains," some forty miles in extent, east and west, and perhaps reaching twenty miles, north and south, says Butterfield, "birds of a strange plumage" flew and "prairie hens sailed away, slowly dropping into the grass, while sand-hill cranes blew their shrill pipes;" "prairie owls, on cumbrous wings, fluttered away in the distance and the noisy

bittern was heard along the streamlets; wild geese were frightened from their nests, and occasionally a bald or gray eagle, soared far above them; many fox-squirrels were seen and rattlesnakes were also found to be very numerous." Deer, turkeys and pheasants there were in abundance. Little wonder that "these plains were always a favorite hunting-ground for the Indians."

In these "plains" the Wyandots had chosen the location of their most eastern headquarters, and called the town Sandusky after the river upon which it was located. The Wyandots were numbered among the chief allies of the British and the council-house of their Northwestern Confederacy was at the site of Brownstown on the Detroit River. There was the permanent residence of their Half-King, but in the later years of the Revolution, when affairs between the British and Americans became acute, Pomoacan took up his temporary abode at Sandusky. The latter therefore became a town of great importance. This fierce warrior tribe had gradually pushed from the northwest lakes into the Ohio country; their favorite abodes being on the Sandusky River, on the bay of which were their first Ohio villages.

As with all Indian tribes, according to the exigencies of peace and war, their towns were changed, from time to time, both as to location and name, thus causing much confusion in the recital of their history. From the mouth of the river, they naturally worked up the stream into the interior and "the name Sandusky, as applicable to their principal town upon that river seems to have come into use after the occupation of the western posts, by the English, in 1760."

The Sandusky town, concerning which we now speak, the Wyandot center, so prominent in Indian affairs through the Revolutionary period, was situated on the west bank of the river bearing the same name, five miles below, that is north of, the present town of Upper Sandusky. Much confusion arises from the indiscriminate use, by writers, of the names Sandusky and Upper Sandusky, their sites being in such juxtaposition, though the towns under those respective names did not exist contemporaneously. The old Wyandot Sandusky was called even in its day Upper Sandusky. The latter as a town was established many years later, became the final Ohio home of the Wyandots, the location of their mission, and later was made the site of the county seat. Four miles northeast of the present Upper Sandusky there was a Wyandot town called Upper Sandusky, also Crane's Town, which was the residence of Tarhe, the Crane, a famous Wyandot chief, of whom we shall hear much anon. In 1818 the Wyandots transferred their council-house from the Crane's Town to the site of the present Upper Sandusky, giving it at the time of their removal, that name.

Sandusky was near the point of portage on that famous waterway between Lake Erie and the Ohio. From time out of mind, the travel and trade between Canada and the Mississippi found a favorite water route, by way of the Sandusky River, from its bay up the stream to the junction of the west branch, known as the Little Sandusky, thence, at a point about five miles west of the site of Bucyrus, over a portage to the Little Scioto, the northeast branch of the Scioto.

This portage, over which the barks and canoes were carried, was from four to two miles in extent and it is claimed even less, according to the season of high or low waters in the rivers. Through Sandusky, therefore, passed the traders and the going and coming bands of warriors. It was not only a chief trading post for the tribesmen and the British, but it was made the principal depot in the Ohio interior from which the British distributed their arms and provisions to their Indian allies, making it also the rendezvous at which they could rally the tribesmen for border forays. Such was Sandusky at the time our narrative has reached. It was the menacing outpost of the British and the stronghold of the Wyandots, who had many other but smaller villages down the river and in the country to the west, it being estimated that in Sandusky and immediate vicinity, not far from seven hundred Wyandots found their home and that their war chief could summon no less than four hundred warriors from the country round about. It was from this Sandusky neighborhood that Pomoacan and Elliott, with their savage band marched (1781) against the Moravian villages on the Muskingum and, after looting the towns, carried the missionaries and the Christian Indians captive to the Sandusky River, locating them some seven miles south of Sandusky, in the territory of the "plains," where, says Loskiel, "the exiles pitched upon the best spot they could find in this dreary waste."

Upon the Tymochtee, near the present site of Crawfordsville, eleven miles from the Wyandot Sandusky, the Delawares had a village, called Pipe's Town, where resided the warrior chief Captain Pipe. Some

thirty miles east of Sandusky, close to the present location of Leesville, was another Delaware village, which, at this time, was the abode of the noted war chief Wingenund. It was this "country of the enemy" that the borderers now proposed to invade, penetrating to its very stronghold, which must be destroyed.

General Irvine was absent from Fort Pitt at the time of the Moravian massacre at Gnadenhutten. Upon his return shortly thereafter, he gave his attention to the renovation and reparation of the fort, which he found in a sorry condition, and to the strengthening and reëquipment of the garrison force, which consisted of only about two hundred men fit for service, and of these a number were detached for duty at Fort McIntosh and elsewhere.

The matter of an offensive warfare against the Ohio Indians, especially the proposed scheme against Sandusky, promptly received the attention of the sagacious and courageous commander. The Washington-Irvine correspondence reveals that, as early as April, an expedition against Sandusky was being considered.

Besides the question of their offensive military movement, there was "another kind of enterprise" then agitating the borderers. Irvine outlines this "enterprise" in a letter to Washington, written in April (1872): "Emigrations and new states are much talked of; advertisements are set up, announcing a day to assemble at Wheeling for all who wish to become members of a new state on the Muskingum." He proceeds to say further "should these people actually emigrate, they must be either entirely cut off, or immediately take protection from the British," which

he fears is the real design of some of the party, though he thinks "a great majority have no other views than to acquire lands." The 20th of May was the day appointed for these Ohio emigrants to rendezvous at Wheeling.

It was evident General Irvine regarded the "new state scheme" as a dangerous one and doubtless was therefore the more ready to enter upon the enterprise against Sandusky as a counter undertaking; besides public sentiment was growing in favor of the latter. General Irvine gave the plan his sanction but rather than resort to his authority to call out the regular militia for his expedition he advocated the call for volunteers, with the understanding that when enrolled, they should place themselves under his orders, to be in all respects subject to the military laws governing the state or county militia, the same as if called out by his requisition. Three hundred was regarded as the least number required. As it was out of the power of the military authorities to furnish any material aid to the expedition, either of arms, provisions or equipment, each volunteer was therefore expected to supply himself with a horse, as all were to be mounted, and equipment, with rifle, rations and necessaries. General Irvine further made it known that those entering upon the expeditions must not expect to make settlements in the country to be invaded and that any conquests they might make should be in behalf of and for the United States. There was a general desire that Irvine should command the expedition, for he was a brave and popular officer, a native of Ireland, and therefore fearless in fight; and in the American Rev-

olution his career had been a highly honorable one, both as a patriot and a soldier. But he declined, for good reasons, to lead the Sandusky campaign and so it was agreed that the volunteers should select their own officers.

The 20th of May—the same date set for the gathering of the Ohio Emigrants—was the day fixed for the rendezvous and the place, Mingo Bottom.

The project, says Butterfield, was as carefully considered, and as authoritatively planned, as any military enterprise in the West, during the Revolution, the scheme being "not irruptive in its origin but smooth and steady-flowing," and its promoters were "a large proportion of the best known and most influential private citizens."

The early days of May saw the settlers in the valleys of the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny astir with preparations for the Sandusky campaign, and by the fifteenth many were on their way to place of rendezvous. The volunteers knew that they were entering upon serious business for many of them "executed deeds in consideration of love and affection, and many witnesses were called to subscribe to last wills and testaments." Among the latter was William Crawford, who bequeathed his property, both real and personal, to his wife, children and grandchildren.

They were prepared to "do or die," were these sturdy, backwoodsmen, gathering at Mingo Bottom. It must have been a picturesque as well as a warlike group. Butterfield describes the appearance of this volunteer: "His hunting-shirt, reaching half-way down his thighs, was securely belted at the waist, the bosom

serving as a wallet. The belt, tied behind, answered several purposes besides that of holding the wide folds of the shirt together. Within it on the right side, was suspended his tomahawk; on the left his scalping knife. His equipage was very simple. Strapped to his saddle was the indispensable knapsack, made of coarse tow cloth, in which were several small articles, placed there, perhaps, by a loving wife or a thoughtful mother or sister. From the pommel of his saddle was suspended a canteen—a very useful article, as the weather was unusually warm for the season. Flour and bacon constituted his principal supply of food. His blanket, used as a covering for his saddle, answered for a bed at night." He carried a flint-lock rifle; a powder-horn securely fastened to a strap, passing over his left shoulder, under the right; a leather pouch, either fastened to his belt or thrust into his bosom, was filled with bullets, bullet-patches and extra flints. These young, active, venturesome and undaunted Irish or Scotch-Irish volunteers, threaded their way, through the woods, along the bridle-paths or the banks of streams to the Ohio.

On Friday morning, May 24th, all had crossed the river and the cavalrymen in motley attire, assembled at the place of meeting. The exact number was four hundred and eighty men, mostly from Washington and Westmoreland counties, Pennsylvania; a few were from Virginia. They assembled, at noon, to organize and elect officers, distributing themselves into eighteen companies, each company choosing a captain, a lieutenant and an ensign. This plan of a small company, of less than fifty each, was the frontier method, as

small bands could be best commanded and handled in contending with the Indians who fought largely under cover and in scattered groups. The "army" as a whole then chose one colonel commandant, four field majors, and one brigade-major. The candidates for commander were Colonel David Williamson and Colonel William Crawford. Upon counting the votes, it was found that two hundred and thirty were cast for Williamson and two hundred and thirty-five for Crawford. The latter we have frequently met with before in our history. He was the surveyor boy with Washington in the Shenandoah Valley; was with Washington at Braddock's defeat and the Forbes expedition against Fort Duquesne; in 1767 he took up his home on the banks of the Youghiogheny and became the land agent of Washington, accompanying him down the Ohio; he was with Dunmore in 1774 and destroyed the Mingo town, near the present site of Columbus; he had in charge the building of Fort McIntosh, and aided in the building of Fort Laurens. During the Revolution he did valiant service at the head of a Virginia regiment, gaining the confidence of Washington as a "brave and active officer." He was in command of Fort Pitt in 1778, under his superior Brigadier-General Edward Hand.

The choice of a leader of the Sandusky campaign could not have been better made, for Crawford was courageous, judicious and intimately acquainted with Indian warfare. David Williamson was made second in command; Thomas Gaddis and John McClelland were chosen third and fourth field majors. The other officers were Major Brinton, fifth in command; Daniel

Leet, Brigade-Major; Dr. John Knight, surgeon; John Slover and Jonathan Zane, "pilots"; and John Rose, aide-de-camp to Colonel Crawford. This Lieutenant Rose, "a very vigilant, active, brave young gentleman, well acquainted with service and a surgeon," was the romantic figure of this expedition, a man of mystery. He had recently served as aid to General Irvine, having previously rendered conspicuous service in the Revolution at the beginning of which he had tendered his aid to the American colonists. It developed, two years after Crawford's expedition, that he was one Baron Gustave Henri De Rosenthal, from Livonia, Russia, whence he had fled in disguise to America, before the Revolution, having killed a fellow nobleman in a duel. He assumed the name of John Rose, and "fought long and gallantly for American Independence." He spoke the languages fluently, especially French and German. After the Revolution he was pardoned by the Russian authorities, and returned to his native country and the United States government, in recognition of his service in the cause of Independence, granted him bounty lands in Ohio. It has been said that "this accomplished man and friend of our country is the only Russian on the American side in the war of Independence."

The presence of Rose at Mingo Bottom gave much satisfaction, says Butterfield, to such of the volunteers as had previously made his acquaintance at Fort Pitt. All were captivated by his fine appearance, urbanity and warm-heartedness. Colonel Crawford was also accompanied by his only son, John Crawford, "the idol of his father, a young man greatly and deservedly

esteemed as a soldier and citizen"; by his son-in-law, William Harrison; and his nephew William Crawford, son of Valentine Crawford.

It was the morning of Saturday, May 25, 1782, that this little army, the men and officers of which were eager for the campaign, took up their march from Mingo Bottom to Sandusky, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in a straight course. But the route chosen was not the most direct one but one that lay through the present counties of Jefferson, Harrison, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Ashland, Richland and Crawford to the center of Wyandot. The journey, as planned, involved a march of one hundred and seventy-five miles, a somewhat circuitous route, as it was the policy of Crawford to avoid Indian trails and the regions usually traveled. Crawford expected, however, to reach his destination in seven days. We need not follow each step of the way; this has been done by Butterfield in his "Crawford's Expedition."

As the author just mentioned indicates, the hills, swamps and tangled growth of forests and the streams to be crossed, made the advance less rapid than anticipated. From the moment of starting, every precaution was taken against surprises or ambuscades by the Indians. On Thursday, the fourth day of the march, the army reached the Muskingum, up the western side of which they marched to the site of the charred remains of Schoenbrunn, or New Schoenbrunn, where they made their fourth encampment. They had thus far proceeded sixty miles, making an average of only fifteen miles per day. Here the horses were plentifully fed "in the fields upon corn from the stalks,

which was found still ungathered and in abundance—the unharvested crop of the previous year" left by the exiled Moravians.

From the outset of the expedition, the knowledge of the project and its every movement were known to the Indians. Simon Girty, who seems to have been almost omnipresent by his swift flittings, "like a host of evil spirits," from village to village in the Sandusky country, had reported to de Peyster that the expedition was on foot and that immediate and adequate measures must be taken to meet it. De Peyster at once responded by getting ready a vessel, the "Faith," to convey a body of British Rangers to the Sandusky River. Girty exerted himself to the utmost, in aiding the Half-King, Dunquat, of the Wyandots at Sandusky, to call in all the absent warriors and hunters of the nation: the Delawares at Wingenund's camp, near what is now Crestline and those on the Tymochtee at Pipe's Town. Runners were also sent to the Mingoes and Shawnees informing them of the approach of the Americans and the impending conflict.

The force forwarded by de Peyster consisted of "two companies of white soldiers" from Detroit, known as Butler's Rangers, commanded by Captain William Caldwell, and a band of "Lake Indians" from the Detroit regions. This force, the horses of the Rangers and two field pieces being sent around by land, crossed Lake Erie to Lower Sandusky, whence they marched in all haste to Upper Sandusky, where they arrived "just in time of need," meeting there a "wild assemblage of whooping and stamping Wyandots and Delawares and some Mingoes." The combined

Indian force numbered not less than two hundred. These with the white troops were gathered at the Half-King's town on June 4th to meet and give battle to Crawford's advancing army. In command of the entire army was Captain Caldwell; under him, to direct the Indians, was Captain Mathew Elliott; Dunquat, aided by Simon Girty, had immediate command of the Wyandots; Captain Pipe, aided by George Girty, had direct oversight of the Delawares.

On May 29th, Crawford's army resumed the march. Leaving their encampment on the Muskingum, they advanced to Killbuck Creek, near the present site of Millersburg, up which stream they moved to a point about ten miles south of Wooster. From this point, after a night's encampment, the army moved westward to the Rocky Fork of the Mohican, up which they traveled to near the site of Mansfield; then passing due west into Crawford county, they reached the headwaters of the Sandusky, not far from the present village of Leesville, three miles west of Crestline. Slover here announced to Crawford that the open country known as the Sandusky Plains was but a few miles away in a southwest direction. Slover, though a Virginian by birth, was "at home" in this region. He had been brought up among the Ohio Indians, having been taken captive by the Miamis when only eight years of age, his father being killed at the time of the boy's capture on New River, Virginia. Slover was adopted into the Miami tribe and given the name of Mannucothe. After a captivity of six years among the Miamis, Slover was sold to a Delaware Indian who put him in the hands of a white trader by whom

in time he was transferred to the Shawnees upon the Scioto, where he remained six years longer. In 1773 he deserted the Indian life and at Fort Pitt declared his allegiance to the whites, subsequently serving in the Continental army in the Revolution. No one was more familiar than he with the country at the headwaters of the Sandusky River and the Miamis.

On the morning of the 3d of June, "the army emerged from the dark woods, which had so long enshrouded them, into the sunlight of the open country." The Sandusky Plains lay before them, the Olentangy being to the south. On the 4th, the mouth of the Little Sandusky was reached, from which three trails led off: one southwest through the plains to Owl Creek, now Vernon River, leading thence down the Walhonding; one up the east side of the Little Sandusky, to the portage; the third southwest to the Shawnee towns on the Mad and Miami rivers. The invading army now moved with greatest caution up the river to the Wyandot town, Sandusky, or Upper Sandusky Old Town; the location was three miles in a southeasterly direction, from the site of the present town of Upper Sandusky. To their consternation the village was deserted and "all was solitude."

The movements of the converging armies, at this point of our narrative, are somewhat obscure, owing to the imperfect and contradictory accounts of various authorities. Indeed many of the oft-quoted particulars rest mainly on tradition.

Upon the morning of the 4th, while Crawford was preparing to move northward from his camp, distant about twenty miles from Pipe's Town, the Delaware

war chief set out from his village with about two hundred of his braves. He soon reached the place appointed for the assemblage of the allied forces—a spot nearly two miles southwest of the town of the Half-King (Dunquat). Here Captain Pipe found the Wyandot warriors under their chief, Zhausshotoh. The combined Indian force now outnumbered the approaching Americans. But two hundred Shawnee warriors were also on their way from their towns to the west. It was on the morning of the 4th, also, that the Detroit Rangers and "Lake Indians" left Lower Sandusky for the scene of action, having with them Mathew Elliott, "in the full uniform of a British Captain," who, when the place of rendezvous was reached, assumed command of the Indians, "a position he was eminently qualified to fill."

A brief hour terminated the halt of Crawford's army at the deserted Wyandot town. He crossed the Sandusky and marched to the present site of Upper Sandusky. The men at this point began to lose courage as they feared an ambuscade by Indians in overwhelming numbers. A council of war was held, followed by a cautious advance some two miles northeast, toward a "beautiful island, or grove, which seemed to beckon them from the fierce heat of the sun." Here they halted and dismounted for a short rest. While moving leisurely on from the grove, that for a half hour had sheltered them, they suddenly came in full view of the foe, running directly toward them.

The Indians had chosen a favorable point for the assembling of their forces; "it was not far distant from two traces—the one leading northeast to the Half-

King's town; the other, northwest to Pipe's town." The Delaware warriors under Captain Pipe, who was accompanied by Chief Wingenund and Simon Girty, were rapidly hastening to secure the grove before it could be reached by Crawford's force. Crawford immediately drew his men in lines to meet the enemy. The Indians were first at the grove, taking full possession, but the brisk and brave attack by Crawford's men drove the dusky warriors into the open prairie beyond, thus giving the Americans the grove—ever after known as Battle Island, three miles north and a half mile east of the present Upper Sandusky and about two miles southwesterly of the Upper Sandusky Old Town of 1782. It was the afternoon of June 4th, when this contest, designated as the Battle of Sandusky, began.

Girty, dressed as an Indian, "the very incarnation of fierceness and cruelty," was conspicuous in his excitement and endeavors. Among the Americans, Rose, "cool and collected," riding the best horse in the army, "galloped up and down the lines carrying the orders of his commander, his gallantry and martial bearing attracting general attention."

The Indians were sheltered by the tall grass which grew so high and rank on the plains. The Americans were protected by the grove—on Battle Island—they had so bravely secured. The battle raged with varying advantage to each side until finally dusk began to veil the field of war, when the Indians drew farther into the grass-covered plains. The foe had five killed and eleven wounded, among the latter Captain Caldwell, who was compelled to leave the field at the beginning of the action.

The second day dawned upon the combatants ready for renewed and decisive efforts. The enemy were reenforced by one hundred and forty Shawnees, who had just arrived from their Miami quarters, and more Canadian troops, with whom were captains Alexander McKee, and James Girty. Thus three of the Girty brothers aided the foe that met Crawford; tradition has it that George Girty "behaved well on the battle field," while Simon Girty rode upon a white horse—appropriately says Butterfield—"death on a pale horse."

The positions of the opposing contestants were unchanged, the Indians on the plains, the Americans in the grove, into the trees of which the soldiers would climb and "from their bushy tops take deadly aim at the heads of the enemy as they rose above the grass." The battle of the second day, the 5th, was a waiting game, Crawford deciding to make no offensive attack until after nightfall and Caldwell holding his Rangers and savage allies in check for a favorable moment. The unexpected presence of Butler's Rangers, and the arrival of the reserve Shawnees, led Crawford, after a council of war, to the conclusion that in an offensive action he certainly would be overpowered by superior numbers and that there was no other safe alternative but to await the darkness of night and then attempt a stealthy retirement in the direction whence they had come. "Prudence, therefore, dictated a retreat," wrote Rose to Irvine at Fort Pitt. Orders were given and preparations at once begun, "for a retrograde movement," to commence at nine o'clock. The whole body was to form in four lines, keeping the nineteen

wounded in the center. The killed—five—were buried and by sundown all arrangements were completed. The narrative of Anthony Dunlevy, John Rose and others—simple but graphic statements of eye-witnesses of the event—tell the sad and tragic sequel of that retreat.

It was no sooner dark than the columns were formed, as silently as possible, the fires being left burning so as to deceive the Indians, and the whole army set in motion with Crawford at their head. The Indians in the front lines of their encampments at once comprehended the intention of the Americans and opened a "hot fire." The line of retreat lay toward the southwest—"directly between the two camps of the savages." There was no other way. Confusion followed, and Major McClelland, who led the first division, was soon engaged with the Shawnees and Delawares. Some in the front ranks hurried off, crowded by many pushing forward from the rear. The brave Major fell from his horse, desperately wounded. He fell into the hands of the enemy and "frightful tortures were doled out to him afterward." The panic became general, and the slaughter of the Americans would have been terrible had it not been that the Indians in their uncertainty, feared the retreat was a feint—"a ruse or maneuver of some kind, not a flight,"—and the body of the Americans got away before the real situation was understood by the red warriors and their Canadian allies.

The flight of the Americans became a disorderly rout, the three columns plunging into the plains and with great disorder hastening on till break of day.

when they came to the site of the deserted village of the Wyandots—Upper Sandusky Old Town—when a halt was called and the distracted men, exhausted and hungered, endeavored to regain order, attend the sick and wounded and learn the extent of their loss. McClelland's division, after the loss of their commader, more demoralized than the other divisions, had taken a more direct route and had already arrived, "irregularly and in much confusion, at the Old Town." Detached and belated parties continued to arrive at the deserted village, until the re-assembling force numbered upwards of three hundred. Besides the dead and wounded left behind, and the stragglers that had not yet caught up, there were many missing—both of men and officers—among the latter Crawford himself, and the command of the distracted army now fell upon Colonel Williamson.

The retreating army, it must not be supposed, had been permitted to pursue its way unmolested or free from danger and disaster. Soon after entering the open country east of the Little Sandusky, a large body of the enemy consisting of mounted Indians and British light cavalry, was discovered rapidly overtaking the rear columns of the Americans. In a few hours they were not only upon the retreating troops but flanking them both right and left. It was in the early afternoon of the 6th, when the Americans were brought to a standstill by the pursuers, not far from a small branch of the Olentangy Creek—then called the Whetstone—the Indian for which was Keenhongsheconsepung. It was a tributary of the Scioto. Here the Americans made their stand, fronting to the west to meet the

enemy, whose superiority of numbers was painfully evident. Colonel Williamson encouraged his weary men to the utmost, and Rose, "whose cheerfulness, suavity and coolness, were only equalled by his wonderful skill and intrepidity," exhorted and enthused the men to heroic deeds.

The contest lasted but an hour, during which the enemy, "daring and furious," attacked in front and on the flanks, gave way on all sides. It was called the Battle of Olentangy—in which, reported Rose, "we had three killed and eight wounded." The pursuing enemy tarried no longer but beaten off and weakened by losses, never ascertained, slowly returned to the Sandusky Plains. "It was a welcome adieu; not a single savage or British Ranger was afterward seen by the army," of the Americans, who thereafter continued their homeward march without further annoyance, reaching Mingo Bottom and crossing the Ohio on June 13th. They were discharged on the 14th, the expedition having occupied less than a month and the entire loss having numbered about seventy, killed, captured, missing and those who died of wounds. It was an unexpected "miscarriage," and on the 16th of June, General Irvine forwarded to General Washington the report, he had just received from Colonel Williamson and aide-de-camp Rose, of the disastrous outcome of the Sandusky expedition and Washington replied from Newburgh, "I cannot but regret the misfortune, and more especially for the loss of Colonel Crawford, for whom I had a very great regard."

Chapter XVII.

THE BURNING OF WILLIAM CRAWFORD

AT the halt of the retreating army, on June 6th, Colonel Crawford, his son John Crawford, his son-in-law William Harrison, William Crawford, his nephew, Dr. Knight, the surgeon, and John Slover, the pilot, were counted among the missing. The fate of those men is the tragic finale to the failure of the expedition.

The confusion incident to the commencement of the retreat of the Americans from their Battle Island camp under the veil of night, June 5th, was the cause of the separation of Crawford from his command. Just as the army began its excited exit from the grove the commander missed his son, son-in-law and nephew, whose welfare was naturally uppermost in his mind. Dr. Knight was at his side and joined with the colonel in calling aloud for the missing men, as the retreating columns straggled by. There was no response. The confusion as the lines emerged from the forest, became worse confounded, the firing of the approaching Indians, driving the American soldiers forward, added to the danger, while the onrush of the savages cut off the colonel and his companion from the fleeing army. In the recital of Crawford's capture we follow closely the narrative of Dr. Knight, than whom there is no better authority, as originally printed in Pittsburg, in September, 1782. The colonel and the doctor were compelled to flee for their lives in a northerly direction, away from the conflict and along paths most likely to give them security; they were later joined by other fugitive soldiers.

On the afternoon following the night of their flight, they came upon the route which had been taken by

the retreating army and they were not far distant when the Battle of Olentangy was being waged. Avoiding the Indian and British forces, the colonel and his companion continued their stealthy flight until past midday of the 7th, when, picking their way cautiously along the banks of the Sandusky, near the present Leesville, "several Indians suddenly started up within fifteen or twenty steps of the colonel and me." The escaping party had fallen into an ambuscade of the Delaware Indians, from Chief Wingenund's camp, which was only half a mile away, to which Crawford and Knight were speedily taken, and to which within a few hours nine other prisoners were brought, the captors in addition boastfully waving the scalps of two American captains. The news was quickly conveyed to the nearby villages that the "Big Captain" of the Americans had been taken. His doom was foreordained, for at the news of Crawford's intended expedition the chiefs of the Indian allies had decreed that all prisoners taken were to be tortured and killed either by the fagot or the tomahawk.

Nothing less than burning at the stake would suffice to appease the vengeance of the Delawares in the case of Crawford. But, according to Butterfield, this method of death had become "an obsolete custom with the Wyandots," though still practiced by the Delawares and other tribes. The Delawares, Crawford's captors, therefore, did not dare to inflict this form of death penalty within the territory of the Wyandots without the consent of the Half-King, Pomoacan, in whose Sandusky country the Delawares were "tenants at will." This consent Captain Pipe

COLONEL WILLIAM CRAWFORD

The unfortunate hero of Crawford's expedition. He was the personal friend of, and land agent for Washington. This picture represents him at the age of thirty-five. It is from a likeness in the possession of his descendants.

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and Chief Wingenund obtained through a messenger sent to the Sandusky quarters of Pomoacan, though it is alleged the permission was obtained through a subterfuge on the part of the Delaware chiefs, they asking merely that the Wyandot Half-King permit them to "accomplish a project in view," which they ardently wished to carry out—not specifying the execution intended. Yet it would seem that Pomoacan would have readily acceded to the request of the Delawares, if the purpose of the request had been fully known, as only a few months before, two of the sons of the Wyandot Half-King had been killed on the banks of the Ohio, by the noted Indian pursuers, the Poe Brothers, Adam and Andrew, whose adventures have furnished material for many a thrilling story of frontier life.

On Monday, the 10th, Crawford and Knight, with the nine other prisoners, under guard of seventeen Delawares, were "paraded" to march to Sandusky, some thirty miles distant. On arriving at the Half-King's town, Crawford's hopes of possible delivery were aroused by meeting Simon Girty, whom he had often met before, and to whom he "made earnest appeal for his safety," even offering the renegade a thousand dollars ransom. Girty "promised, with no intention of keeping his word," at the same time informing Crawford that his nephew William Crawford and son-in-law William Harrison had been taken by the Shawnees "but pardoned at their towns." This latter statement was not true. They had been disposed of in some way, probably tomahawked; "what became of them is entirely unknown—tradition,

even, is silent concerning them." John Crawford, only son of the Colonel, likewise disappeared, his fate remaining unrecorded; it being generally supposed that he was tortured to death in the wilderness.

Crawford and Knight well knew their fate was sealed, for Captain Pipe, Wingenund being a witness and reluctant to take part, for he had often been befriended by both Crawford and Knight, painted the faces of the prisoners black, the first ordeal in the preparation of those condemned for the stake. Guarded by the two Delaware chiefs, and an escort of their tribesmen, the blackened captives were led several miles from the Half-King's village to the banks of the Little Tymochtee Creek. Here five of the prisoners, thus far accompanying the colonel and the doctor, were tomahawked by a party of squaws and boys, one old squaw cutting off the head of John McKinley and "kicking it about on the ground." The reeking scalps of the slain were dashed in the faces of Crawford and Knight. The party then moved on, perhaps a mile farther, to the spot selected for the execution, on the east bank of the Tymochtee, about three-quarters of a mile from the Delaware village, in Crawford township, Wyandot county, the spot now marked by a simple monument in an open lot, a short distance northeast of the town of Crawfordsville; at which spot each year the county pioneer association, in the midst of large gatherings of people, commemorates with fitting exercises the never-to-be-forgotten event.

It was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, June 11, 1782, that the frightful torture and orgies were inaugurated, "exceeding in fiendish, ferocious,

devilish cruelty and barbarity, anything recorded in savage annals." Simon Girty, Captain Pipe, Chief Wingenund and probably Mathew Elliott were present. A post, about fifteen feet high, was firmly set in the ground; fagots, sticks and stubble, gathered nearby, were heaped in a pile for the fire, some eighteen or twenty feet from the stake to which Crawford was tied. The colonel was stripped naked and ordered to sit down by the fire and "then they beat him with clubs and their fists." Albach is responsible for the statement that after "Crawford was bound to the fatal post, the surrounding Christian Indians were called upon to come forth and take vengeance on the prisoner, but they had withdrawn and their savage relations stepped forward in their stead." It is, however, highly improbable that any Christian Indians were near enough to the scene to be invited as participants. We let Dr. Knight, who, guarded by an Indian named Tutelu, was obliged to sit upon a log and witness the horrible spectacle, describe the scene in his own rugged words:

"They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Col's [Colonel's] hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice and return the same way. The Col. then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him?—Girty answered, yes. The Col. said he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

"When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little, I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

"The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him with the burning fagots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards, upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

"In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty, and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer, he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene."

For three hours Colonel Crawford endured the most excruciating agonies with sublime patience, when

BURNING OF CRAWFORD

Imaginary picture, from an old print, of the burning of Crawford. The figure of Simon Girty is shown in the foreground on the left. Dr. Knight is sitting upon the log in the foreground on the right.

The Indian men then took up their [illegible] powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet a[illegible] neck. I think not less than seventy lo[illegible] charged upon his naked body. [illegible] consequence thereof.

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[illegible] three hours Colonel Crawford endured the most

faint and almost exhausted, with the faith and fortitude of a religious martyr of the olden days, he commended his soul to God, and fell upon his face, prone upon the bed of burning coals. One of the savages, who were dancing about the victim like incarnate fiends,—Zeisberger in his Diary says it was a Moravian Indian —then scalped him and repeatedly swung the scalp into the face of Knight, saying, "he is your great Captain." An old withered squaw then seized a board with which she poured scorching coals and ashes upon his back and head. In one final effort, he raised himself upon his feet but strength failed him and he sank into the welcome arms of death. The scene beggars description and the hand palsies in repeating the recital of Knight. Judge James Anderson closes his address, delivered on the scene of the event, a few years ago, with this just tribute: "If Socrates died like a philosopher, and Jesus Christ like a God, then verily the manly, calm, courageous soul, whose sufferings were a thousand fold greater, died like a hero, and patriot and martyr. His name shall live in the great American heart, and in the pantheon of history, while true patriotism is cherished, and the memory of the father of our country revered."

That this indescribable murder of Crawford was meted out as a special retaliation by the Delawares, for the Moravian massacre by Williamson and his men, was often asserted by writers, conspicuously by the Moravian missionaries whose accounts were contemporaneous with the event. And later historians have accepted this retributive motive as accounting for the fiendish deed of the infuriated tribesmen of

Pipe and Wingenund; "it had been regarded as an inscrutable act of Providence that Crawford should fall into the hands of the savages, exasperated by the murder of the Moravians, and suffer tortures unheard of in the annals of men, as a consequence of Williamson's wickedness and ferocity," wrote Charles Whittlesey in his account in the American Pioneer. Many other rewriters of the event express similar reflections. To our mind, however, neither the facts nor the probabilities sustain this theory of "special punishment," by the Delawares. Neither Captain Pipe, an implacable enemy of the Americans, nor Chief Wingenund, scarcely less hostile, were friendly to the Moravians; indeed the indifference, if not downright hatred to the Christian Indians, was invariably exhibited by these chiefs when occasion offered. They could hardly have been so "wrought up" over the Gnadenhutten slaughter, as the writers would have us infer. But it was, as Butterfield suggests, quite natural, that these two chiefs, the arch-fiends in the damnable drama, "should afterward assign it as a reason, when these cruelties made them odious at Detroit." Indeed Wingenund "was so bold as to deny complicity on his part, in any cruelties inflicted upon the prisoners."

Doddridge, in his Notes, evidently taking his cue from Zeisberger's Diary and Heckewelder's Narrative, says Crawford's expedition "in one point of view at least, is to be considered as a second Moravian campaign, as one of its objects was that of finishing the work of murder and plunder with the Christian Indians at their new establishments on the Sandusky." The second object was that of destroying the Wyandot

towns on the same river; "it was the resolution of all those concerned in this expedition not to spare the life of any Indians that might fall into their hands, whether friends or foes." This is unquestionably the view of the Moravian missionaries who were, however, at this time, scarcely in a frame of mind to pass impartial judgment upon the motives or actions of the western frontiersmen. There is no evidence that Crawford's expedition was other than a campaign against the Indians as the allies of Great Britain and the dangerous foes of the new American nation. The further persecution of the Moravian converts was not even a secondary motive with Crawford's men—that idea was the shadowy supposition of the Moravian mind.

On the other hand, as intimated, there is no need of seeking a justification or even explanation on the part of the Delawares for the unparalleled atrocities of Crawford's burning, through the motive of retribution for the previous massacre by Williamson's men. The savage allies of Great Britain fully realized that from that point on the contest between the bordermen and the tribal warriors would be one of extermination of the latter from their Ohio country.

When death had put an end to the frightful sufferings of the brave and immortal colonel, the fagots were heaped together, his burned body, now a mass of raw flesh, was placed upon the glowing embers and "around his charred remains danced the delighted savages for many hours."

The shocking orgies having been completed, Simon Girty returned to Lower Sandusky, where he found

the disabled Captain Caldwell, to whom he made report of Crawford's execution.

Doctor Knight, "a small and weak-looking man," was taken to Captain Pipe's house, and his face again blackened, evidence that there awaited him the doom that had been meted out to his commander. Under guard of Tutelu, who rode horseback, driving Knight on foot before him, the two set out for a Shawnee town, forty miles distant. During the encampment of the first night, the captive doctor slipped his bands from his wrists, sprang to his feet and seizing a large stick, smote the "burly savage" on the back of the head as he was stooping over the fire, into which the blow felled him. Howling with pain, the Indian sprang into the woods leaving Knight to make good his escape, which he did, reaching Fort McIntosh, after three weeks of adventures and sufferings, subsisting "altogether on wild gooseberries, young nettles, a raw terrapin and two young birds."

John Slover, the pilot, made even a more remarkable escape, as he subsequently related to a Mr. Brackinridge of Pittsburg, who wrote out and published the account, to which he added "some observations with regard to the animals, vulgarly called Indians."

Slover was paraded through many Shawnee towns, examined by several Indian councils, and finally sentenced to death at Wapatomica on the Muskingum, where a trial was held in the council-house, there being assembled fifty to one hundred warriors, but only the chiefs or head warriors having the privilege of speaking, the head warriors being so designated from the number of scalps or prisoners they had taken.

Captain Alexander McKee was present, "dressed in gold lace clothes," and the day after the council, "about forty warriors, accompanied by George Girty, came early round the house where I was," said Slover. He continues, "the squaws put a rope round my neck, tied my arms behind me in the usual manner." George Girty told him he would get what he deserved. Slover was beaten, made to run the gauntlet, and tied to a tree, awaiting the preparation of the post and fire. The ususal stake was set up, and "three piles of wood built about three feet high and four feet from the post." He was tied to the post and the piles of wood set aflame.

Slover tells the almost incredible result: "The day was clear, not a cloud to be seen; * * * I heard no thunder, or observed any sign of approaching rain; just as the fire of one pile began to blaze, the wind rose; from the time they began to kindle the fire and to tie me to the post, until the wind began to blow was about fifteen minutes; the wind blew a hurricane, and the rain followed in less than three minutes; the rain fell violent, and the fire, though it began to blaze considerably, was instantly extinguished; the rain lasted about a quarter of an hour; when it was over the savages stood amazed and were a long time silent; at last one said, we will let him alone till morning, and take a whole day's frolic in burning him."

Slover was loosened from his bonds, beaten and kicked and wounded till the Indians were weary and sleepy. He was taken to a blockhouse, tied with a rope of Buffalo hide about his neck to a beam, in such a manner as to be allowed to lie down. His watching Indians smoked and jibed their prisoner, with comments

upon the tortures awaiting him the next day, asking him how he would like to eat fire, etc., till slumber overcame them all. It was daybreak and he "heard the cock crow," before he could unloose his bindings. He then "slipped over the warriors as they lay," and once out of the house, ran through the town into a corn field, where he caught a horse, "strong and swift," which brought him in a few hours to the Scioto, for he took the direction opposite to that which his captors would expect, hoping thereby to completely deceive them, which he did. In a few days he reached Wheeling and his miraculous escape became one of the tales foremost in interest among the innumerable ones incident to the expedition of Crawford.

Chapter XVIII.

CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION IN OHIO

THE Crawford campaign, with its chief event the "Sandusky Battle," sometimes erroneously spoken of as the "only battle of the American Revolution fought in Ohio"—erroneously so designated because, as we have seen, it was really only one of a score of lesser encounters that were inseparable events of the Revolution—marked the high tide of the bitterly contested war between the British-Indian allies and the Colonists in the year 1782. But the end was not yet. The defeat and retreat of Crawford's army, roused the courage and fury of the savages to the highest pitch of animosity and fierceness. All was renewed activity about the British headquarters at Detroit and the Indian centers of Sandusky and Wapatomica, located on what is now the site of Zanesfield, Logan county. War was to be carried across the Ohio, both south and east. The sanguinary encounter known as the Battle of Blue Licks was the immediate result.

In June (1782), immediately after the events upon the Sandusky Plains, there were assembled at Wapatomica, a host of the redmen, representing Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Munseys, Mingoes and even Cherokees. There were present, also, Simon Girty, Mathew Elliott and Alexander McKee, the advice of which three was profuse and inflammatory and in general acted upon. The settlements in Kentucky were designated as most likely to afford fields for destructive raids.

The Haldimand Papers and the Washington-Irvine correspondence reveal the scheming activities of the tribesmen at this time. Captain Snake of the Shaw-

nees, immediately after the Sandusky battle, requested of de Peyster that the latter permit his Rangers to remain at Lower Sandusky a few days until preparations could be made for a march to Wapatomica, with the idea of advancing thence, with added forces from Detroit, to an attack on Fort Henry. De Peyster acceded to this plan and to augment the soldiery of Captain Caldwell at Wapatomica, the Detroit commander dispatched Captain Andrew Bradt with a company of forty Rangers. But alarming rumors from Pittsburg, to the effect that George Rogers Clark was again in the field and with a formidable force was moving from Kentucky towards Wapatomica, led Caldwell and his army of Rangers and redmen to change their plans. Instead of proceeding towards Fort Henry, they decided to march south and west and meet the expected enemy at or near Piqua, whence Clark had driven the Shawnees two years before.

It was a great army that set out under Caldwell; "we had," wrote McKee, "on this occasion, the greatest body of Indians collected, on an advantageous piece of ground near the Picawee (Piqua) village that has been assembled in this quarter since the commencement of the war." Caldwell wrote de Peyster, "I had eleven hundred Indians on the ground and three hundred more within a day's march."

But at Piqua there was no enemy in sight, on the contrary it was learned that the report of Clark's advance was false. That intrepid hero was at Louisville, engaged in other plans. With no fight in view, the disappointed warriors, in large numbers, deserted and struck for their villages, leaving only three hundred

savages, with sixty Rangers, under Caldwell, to march on to the banks of the Ohio. On the eve of their departure Simon Girty harangued the warrior host and with all the power of his fiery tongue, urged them to seize the coming opportunity to exterminate the Long Knives—the rebel enemies of their father, the British King—from Kentucky, the favorite hunting ground of the Indians.

The point aimed at was Bryant's Station, in what is now Fayette county, Kentucky. The sequel has been told by many writers, notably by McClung, with profuse but often inaccurate detail, and more recently by Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," and by Colonel Bennett H. Young in the publications of the Filson Club.

It was in the night, probably the 15th of August (1782), that Caldwell with his Rangers and Indians, the latter accompanied by McKee, Elliott and the Girtys, Simon and George, arrived at Bryant's Station, which then comprised about forty cabins, arranged in three parallel lines and connected by strong palisades in the usual form of a stockade fort. "They came," writes Young, a most careful and reliable narrator, "like the pestilence that walks in the darkness, unexpected and unseen," having crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Licking River, "no spy or scout had brought tidings of the coming storm." "That night," says Roosevelt, "the Indians tried to burn the fort, shooting flaming arrows onto the roofs of the cabins and rushing up to the wooden wall with lighted torches; but they were beaten off at each attempt."

Runners meantime had stealthily evaded the Indian lines and hastened to the neighboring settlements and

within forty-eight hours, during which the little garrison in the stockade held the assailants at bay, there came to the relief of the beleaguered station companies of backwoodsmen officered by Levi Todd, his brother John Todd, Stephen Triff, Hugh McGarry, Silas Harlan, the intrepid Daniel Boone, accompanied by his youngest son, and others of lesser renown, the force in all numbering one hundred and eighty-two, mostly mounted and "fully one-third of these were officers, who, in many a combat and many an expedition, had shown their skill and their courage." The plucky little band in the station stockade stubbornly refused to surrender, even in the face of the vastly superior numbers and the assailants had made no headway when the relief companies began to appear.

The Indians of Caldwell's force, thinking discretion was the better part of valor, suddenly commenced to raise the siege and, after burning a few cabins and destroying the surrounding crops, under cover of night, withdrew, leaving their fires brightly burning to deceive the enemy as to their departure. When daylight revealed the retirement of the besiegers, the Kentuckians decided to pursue the enemy without delay and easily following the trail taken by the retreating army, the mounted frontiersmen, on the afternoon of the 18th, precipitately rushed ahead. They encamped that night in the woods and on the following day "reached the fatal boundary of their pursuit," coming within view of the retreating enemy at what was known as the Blue Licks, on the Licking River. A halt was made for consultation, in which Daniel Boone

advised delay until the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Logan, who was known to be approaching with additional men. But the Kentuckians were impatient of delay and under the leadership of the impetuous McGarry, mounted their horses and spurred them on across the Licking River and up an ascent to a bare and open ridge, flanked by bushy and timber covered ravines, filled with the ambuscading Indians who then held the entrapped Kentuckians as in "the wings of a net." The forest warriors were under cover, while their helpless victims were fully exposed to the terrible fire that suddenly poured upon them from all sides. The mortality was tremendous; one-fourth of the Kentuckian force, among them officers John Todd, Trigg, Harlan, Bulger, McBride and Gordon, went down at the first volley of the enemy, like stricken stalks of corn, never to rise again. The whole action had not lasted much over five minutes; "there had been no time to reload, nor did the enemy intend to give them opportunity for any such purpose, but rushed out with tomahawk and scalping-knife and forced a hand-to-hand encounter."

The brave Kentuckians could do naught else than scurry from the death trap; there was not even time to succor the wounded, much less bear off the dead. The survivors took instant flight, each for himself, and crossing the river, "plunged into the trackless forests on the opposite shore of the Licking, but the ambush had accomplished its deadly purpose"; of the fleeing frontiersmen, forty-one per cent.—seventy—were killed and many wounded and captured; some of the latter being spared to suffer death amid Indian

tortures. The deserted horses of the Kentuckians were seized by the Indians and "on these they rode among the fleeing white men, cutting them down with their tomahawks or waited to slay them as they ran down the hillside."

Boone's son, Israel, among the mortally wounded, was borne from the field by the dauntless father, carried across the river and laid upon the banks to die. Many were the deeds of heroism and bravery of the Kentuckians witnessed on that fatal day; especially, the resolute actions of Robert Patterson and Benjamin Netherland, who finally rallied the fleeing frontiersmen and checked the slaughter being inflicted by the pursuing Indians, on that bloody day, for says Young, "in Kentucky's history, there is nothing more tragic or more dreadful than the Battle of Blue Licks."

The victorious Indians, "glutted with vengeance, recrossed the Ohio and vanished into the Northern forests," Captain Caldwell and his Rangers returning to Wapatomica and thence going to Upper Sandusky. In his report to de Peyster, written August 26th, Captain Caldwell grandiosely wrote of the Blue Licks victory:

"We killed and took one hundred and forty-six. Amongst the killed is Col. Todd the Commander, Col. Boon, Lt. Col. Trigg, Major Harlin, who commanded their infantry, Major Magara and a number more of their Officers. Our loss is Monsr. La Bute killed; he died like a warrior fighting arm to arm, six Indians killed and ten wounded. The Indians behaved extremely well and no people could behave better than both Officers and men in general. The Indians I

had with me were the Wyandots and Lake Indians. The Wyandots furnished me with what provision I wanted, and behaved extremely well."

Captain Caldwell, after reaching Upper Sandusky, was soon compelled to leave for Detroit, being very ill with intermitting fever. George Girty went with the Delawares to the Mad River and Simon Girty with the Wyandots to the Half-King's Town on the Sandusky. The close of the Revolution in the East gave harbinger of peace in the Ohio country and in the latter part of August, de Peyster received from Brigadier General Powell at Fort Niagara orders directing the Detroit commandant to thereafter act only on the defensive in his operations in the Ohio country. De Peyster therefore at once dispatched instructions to Captain Andrew Bradt, then with a company of Rangers at Wapatomica and to Captain Alexander McKee in the same locality ordering them "not to make any incursions into the enemy's country." But the courier with these orders did not reach Wapatomica until after Captain Bradt had departed with the forty Rangers and all the Indians he could muster —two hundred and forty in number—destined for Wheeling and the reduction of Fort Henry, which had been the original destination of Caldwell's expedition a few weeks before.

The surrender of Cornwallis had become known to the Ohio Indians and they in large measure comprehended its probable effect in bringing about a conclusion to the war and the consequent submission of the tribesmen to the American authorities. The savages were therefore easily persuaded to another

effort against the white borderers. The Rangers under Bradt and the Indians allies accompanied by James Girty—and not Simon Girty as most accounts state, nor George Girty as others assert—hastened over the usual trail to the Ohio banks opposite Wheeling.

It was on the 11th of September (1782) that the assailing force was discovered approaching Fort Henry, which stood on a bluff, on the Virginia side of the Ohio, overlooking the river. In shape the fort was a parallelogram, being about three hundred and fifty-six feet in length and one hundred and fifty in width. It was enclosed by a stockade fence twelve feet high, with a walk, three feet wide, running around the inside and with bastions at each corner, large enough to contain six defenders. The blockhouse was two stories high, the second story projecting out several feet over the first and thus commanding the space beneath. The thick white oak walls of the palisade and bastions were pierced with portholes. Besides the blockhouse there were a number of cabins located within the stockade. Outside the fort, not more than one hundred yards distant, on a site slightly elevated above the level of the fort, was the dwelling of Colonel Ebenezer Zane; it was an unusually spacious log-hewn cabin being two stories high in the form of a blockhouse with loopholes for the use of musketry in case of attack. Colonel Zane was in charge of the station and at his cabin kept a portion of the military stores required for the fort. Occupying the house, besides Colonel Zane, was his wife, his brother Jonathan, Molly Scott and Miss McColloch, daughter of Colonel Samuel

McColloch, one of the officers of the fort, and two servants. Colonel Zane had placed his brother Silas Zane in charge of the fort, the garrison of which properly consisted of eighteen men and all told did not exceed forty-two, including "the boys and women who could handle rifles." Among the latter was Elizabeth Zane, the only sister of the Zane brothers, a dark eyed, oval-faced, fine-featured, high-spirited beauty, who was the favorite of all, not merely for her charms of person but for "the ability she displayed in the acquirements demanding a true eye, a fleet foot, a strong arm and daring courage," for she could ride like an Indian, shoot with unerring skill, and push a canoe over the most difficult place.

Upon the approach of the attacking enemy, Colonel Zane dispatched Captain Boggs, to warn and rouse the neighboring settlements. Captain Bradt, flying the British flag, with pipe and drum playing, marched up to the fort and demanded its surrender in the name of King George. It was emphatically refused, when the besiegers, numbering about three hundred, immediately opened fire upon the fort and rushed forward to the assault with great impetuosity. They were met by a brisk and well-directed fire from the portholes of Colonel Zane's house, as well as from the stockade fort, the women moulding bullets, loading guns and handing them to the men, thus enabling the latter to fire so often and effectively as to give the enemy the idea that the garrison force was greatly in excess of the true numbers.

When the night came the Indians made desperate endeavors, but in vain, to fire and destroy Zane's

house, which so formidably commanded the approach to the fort. Attempts were likewise made to set fire to the palisades of the stockade and to shoot flaming arrows onto the roofs of the enclosed structure. But the little garrison was equal to every emergency. The night wore away, the yells and war-whoops of the savages subsided and daylight revealed that the assailants were held at bay, though still surging about the fort and renewing their showers of arrows and volleys of musketry. Many are the romantic and heroic incidents that mark the siege—the firing of the French swivel from the portholes of the bastion; the arrival of a pirogue, loaded with cannon balls from Fort Pitt, under Captain Sullivan and a crew of three men, and their plucky and hazardous entrance into the fort; the improvising of a cannon, by the Indians, with a hollow log, which at the firing exploded and created amusing havoc among the savages; the brave attempt to reënforce the garrison, by Francis Duke, with a party from the stockade of his father-in-law, Colonel David Shepherd, and the tragic death of Duke at the gate of the fort he gallantly sought to rescue—but for those interesting exploits the reader must seek the detailed accounts of which there are many. But one must not go unrecorded here, for it scarcely has its parallel in history.

During the second day's siege, the supply of powder in the fort, by reason of the long continuance of the savage fire and the necessity for reciprocal response, became almost exhausted, a few loads only remaining. There was no alternative but to replenish the stock of the fort from the supply in the cabin of Colonel

Zane, but that was a hundred yards away and the open intervening space was swept by the bullets and arrows of the surrounding Indians. It was evident however that the garrison, now almost empty handed, could not resist another assaulting charge of the foe. A volunteer was called for, one who dared in the face of death, to make the run from the fort to Colonel Zane's house and, if successful in reaching it, attempt the return with a supply of powder. The proposed endeavor was such as might cause the stoutest heart to hesitate. But it was the life of one for the many, and those backwoodswomen no less than the men were schooled to peril and sacrifice. There were volunteers and among them Elizabeth Zane, or Betty, as she was called. There were many protests against Betty's bold proposal and when told a man would encounter less danger by reason of his greater fleetness, she is said to have replied: "And should he fall, his loss will be more severely felt; you have not one man to spare; a woman will not be missed in the defense of the fort.'' Her daring but determined offer was reluctantly accepted. Divesting herself of some of her outer skirts, that her progress might be less impeded, she stood prepared for the perilous venture; and "when the gate was opened she bounded forth with the buoyancy of hope and in the confidence of success." "Wrapt in amazement," says one writer, "the Indians beheld her spring forward, and only exclaiming, 'a squaw, a squaw,' no attempt was made to interrupt her progress." Not a shot did they fire. The yells of the astonished warriors rang all along the river front, showing that the entire Indian force

had witnessed the slight figure gracefully and fearlessly moving across the open and ascending the gentle slope to the Zane cabin. Speedily "a long black stream of the precious stuff was piled up in a little hill in the center of the table; then the corners of the table-cloth were caught up, turned and twisted and the bag of powder was thrown over Betty's shoulder," and fastened about her waist.

Again she ventured forth, this time with her priceless burden. The Indians now recognized the purpose of her errand and were no longer passive. Her success meant their doom. The rifles cracked and the bullets sped about her like hail; "scattering pebbles in her path, striking up the dust and ploughing little furrows in the ground." It was over in a moment; the spirit of her bravery and patriotism shielded her from harm; she reached the fort; the huge gate creaked and swung open and then closed upon one of the most heroic acts in the annals of bravery.

The strange spectacle to which the besiegers had just been witnesses was well calculated to dampen the ardor of their courage and create admiration for the dogged grit of the garrison. But the painted warriors and their British allies continued the siege, keeping up an incessant fire the remainder of the day. The bastion or "elevated tower" was the special object of their fire, for from it came the most deadly shots. It was occupied by Jonathan Zane and his sister Betty, who did the rapid loading while the brother did the effective firing. Betty Zane herself related in subsequent years how she would have to stop in her work, to pull out the splinters, driven

into her hands and arms, as they were torn off the white oak logs by the bullets of the savages. The second night was made hideous with the yells of the Indians as they made assault upon the impregnable stockade. Bands of the frantic warriors would rush against the gate; with fire brands and bundles of hemp they sought to set fire to the palisades; the whistle of the bullet and the echo of the war-whoop added to the terror of the gloomy night.

The next morning Bradt and the chiefs counseled together as to further plans, when the news reached the invaders that a force of seventy frontiersmen was on the way to the relief of the fort. It would be rashness to continue the siege in the face of greater and renewed resistance.

Leaving one hundred of their number to lag behind to scour and lay waste the country, the remainder of the army, on the morning of the 13th, retreated across the Ohio and encamped at Indian Spring, five miles from the river, and the next day the vanquished savages took up the journey homeward.

It is perhaps due to the truth of history to here note that the question of the identity of the heroine of the "powder feat" has been raised by some historical writers, owing to the fact that in 1849 Mrs. Lydia Cruger, then eighty-four years of age, who was an inmate of the fort and a witness to the event, made and published a statement that Molly Scott and not Betsy Zane was the courageous carrier of the powder. Molly Scott lived to be eighty years of age and according to the testimony of J. F. Scott her grandson: "She has told me, and in my presence,

many times, about the exploit of Betsy Zane carrying the powder in her apron from Col. Zane's dwelling to the Fort." There is no evidence whatever that Molly Scott ever claimed the honor attributed to her, on the contrary she always accorded it to Betsy Zane. Moreover, there is the trustworthy testimony of several who saw the feat that Betsy Zane was the true heroine and as to that there is not the least doubt.

It was a memorable siege, distinguished for the numbers engaged in the assault, the almost incomparable bravery of the small garrison in defense, but above all else for the fortitude displayed by the women in the fort, to whom De Haas in his "Indian Wars of Western Virginia," pays the following glowing tribute, after describing the horrors of the second night's siege: "The women, during the whole of that long and perilous night, proved themselves heroines of no ordinary type. They stood at their posts like soldiers of a dozen campaigns, cooling and loading the rifles of their husbands, brothers and lovers. Such women were worthy the love and devotion of men like these. No timid shrieks escaped them; no maidenly fears caused them to shrink from their self-imposed and most onerous task. Such were the pioneer mothers of the west—women whose souls and bodies were so sorely tried in the fierce fire of our Indian wars. Through the whole of that long and terrible night, without food and without rest, did these brave and noble women stand to their duty, regardless of fatigue, but nerving their hearts to the contest, and animating the men with hope and courage. The Greek matron,

who urged her son to the conflict, charging him to return with his shield or upon it, displayed no more zeal, devotion, and true courage, than these hero-women of the west. History is full of examples of female heroism. Israel had her Judith and Deborah, France glories in her Joan and Lavalette;—two of them unsexed themselves in the excitement of battle; one ingloriously stained her hands in human gore; and the other had nothing to lose by her successful efforts; but the western heroines, without the *eclat* of female warriors, displayed more true courage throughout the long and stormy days of our Indian warfare, and exhibited more of the true spirit of heroism, than any example in ancient or modern history."

While the expedition against and the siege of Fort Henry was in progress the Kentuckians were busily engaged in a retaliatory invasion of Ohio. The battle of Blue Licks was fought on the 19th of August. On the next day, the retreating remnant of the Kentucky force, on their way from the scene of the terrible disaster to Bryant's Station, met Colonel Benjamin Logan at the head of three hundred men whom he had enrolled for the rescue of Bryant's Station, but which they failed to reach until after Caldwell and his force had withdrawn. On learning of the fatal result at Blue Licks, Logan pressed forward to the battlefield to bury the dead and avenge their death if the enemy should still be in reach. But the red warriors, flushed with victory and brandishing their scalps and trophies, had skurried to their Ohio homes. The field of battle presented to Logan's soldiers a

horrible spectacle—all was still as the very dead that lay uncovered where they had fallen; "not a sound was to be heard but the hoarse cry of the vulture, flapping her wings and mounting into the air, alarmed at the intrusion of man." The dead, mangled and disfigured by the tomahawk and scalping knife, were unrecognizable and undistinguished, all were alike consigned to a silent grave, the bodies of the dead being interred in long trenches and heaped over with stones and logs. The whole Kentucky country was aroused to action by the disaster of Blue Licks and at once the backwoodsmen looked, as they had so often looked before in hours of distress, to George Rogers Clark, who was stirred to his old-time energy at his post at the Ohio Falls (Louisville), where for many months he had been busy strengthening the fort and providing means to protect the Kentucky border.

One of these means was the construction of a "gunboat" to patrol the Ohio from Louisville to the mouth of the Licking, site of Cincinnati. This naval achievement was a flat bottomed row boat manned by forty men and carrying two swivel cannon. An interesting correspondence concerning this gunboat passed between Clark and the Virginia authorities, in which Clark asked for funds to defray the expense for the building of a "man of war." The governor of the state replied to Clark's request: "I am sorry to inform you that we have but four shillings in the (state) treasury, and no means of getting any more." But Clark built the boat. He promptly responded to the call that he raise and command a force that

should proceed to the leading Indian towns on the Miami River, destroy the villages and chastise the savages.

The call for volunteers was extended throughout the Kentucky settlements and responses came from all directions. The Falls of the Ohio and Bryant's Station were selected as the places for the troops to meet and colonels John Floyd and Benjamin Logan were selected to command the two divisions as they should assemble. The last of October, both divisions met and united at the mouth of the Licking, where Clark took supreme command. His force numbered one thousand and fifty mounted riflemen. With beeves, pack-horses, and supplies in abundance the army left the banks of the Ohio on November 4th and moving up the Miami Valley reached the Miami towns in six days. The enemy, apprised of the approach of the Kentuckians, hurriedly fled to the woods, taking their squaws and children. Their flight was too sudden to permit their carrying away any property. There was nothing for Clark's soldiers to do but seize the "belongings" the Indians had left, burn the deserted cabins and great quantities of corn and provisions.

From the writings of Father William Bigot, a learned French priest, who resided for thirty years at Loramie, now Berlin, on Loramie Creek, and who made a careful study of the history of that noted site, we learn that in this campaign of Clark, when he reached Lower Piqua at the Great Miami, "he met a peaceful people and no damage was done them." From there he proceeded to Upper Piqua, where there was an Indian fort which

the Kentucky commander destroyed; thence he proceeded to Loramie's store, which he surprised, plundered and burned; Pierre Loramie "escaped that night from the hands of his enemy and took refuge with the Shawnees at Wapaconatre,"(Wapakoneta). This Loramie's store was undoubtedly the British trading post, mentioned in Clark's official report, in which after describing the destruction of the first Shawnee towns reached, he says: "The British trading post at the head of the Miami and Carrying Place to the waters of the Lakes, shared the same (fate) by a party of one hundred and fifty horse commanded by Colonel Logan and property to a great amount was also destroyed; the quantity of provisions burnt far surpassed any idea we had of their stores."

It was Clark's soldiers that destroyed the post, but they were under the command of Logan. The trading post was never rebuilt; Loramie left the Ohio country for a residence among the Western Indians. The Indians could not be prevailed upon to attempt an encounter with Clark; Alexander McKee endeavored to rally the Wyandot and Shawnee warriors for the defensive; but only a small number would join him and they were speedily scattered at the approach of the Kentucky frontiersmen. Clark's fame as a conqueror, with a thousand determined, rifle-armed horsemen under him, was an antagonist the wiley warriors dared not encounter. There was no battle in the campaign; the loss of the Indians was ten scalps, seven prisoners and two whites recaptured; "after laying part of four days in their towns," writes Clark, "and finding all attempts to bring them to

a general action fruitless, we retired, as the season was far advanced and the weather threatening." The expedition "returned in triumph" and the Kentuckians "regained their self-confidence."

Alluding to this expedition, which ended forever all formidable Indian invasions of Kentucky, and to its leader Clark, Justin Winsor, in his "Westward Movement" makes the comment, "it was the last brilliant dash of a man who, amid the whirls of disappointment, was soon to surrender himself to evil habits, and drop out of memorable history. He had now made the final rude onset against British power in the northwest, as he had made the first four years before."

During the summer of 1782, a "fierce determination possessed the borderers to crush the red vipers" along the Sandusky River "and arrangements were made," reports Withers, "to invade the Indian country once more as soon as the wheat and oats were harvested." A conference was held between members of the Pennsylvania Supreme Council and members of Congress, which resulted in a recommendation to General Washington that a general campaign against the savages should be inaugurated. The Fort Henry siege emphasized the necessity of such a campaign and Washington agreed that three expeditions should move simultaneously on the Indians. One was to be sent by the State of New York against the Iroquois in the neighborhood of Oswego; another was to proceed from Sunbury, Pennsylvania, into the settlements of the Senecas in the Genesee Valley; a third, to be commanded by General Irvine, was to move from Fort

Pitt against the Wyandots and Delawares on the Sandusky River.

General Lincoln, then Secretary of War, proposed that Irvine's force should consist of twelve hundred men, regulars, rangers and volunteers and that the army should set forth on October 8th. But on that date no troops were forthcoming and after a wait of two weeks, General Irvine received word from Philadelphia that the Indian war was regarded as at an end, and his expedition was countermanded. But as we have seen, George Rogers Clark proceeded without hesitation or delay with his Kentucky expedition against the Indians on the Miami. But at the same time, as the Washington-Irvine correspondence amply reveals, General Sir Guy Carlton, who had recently been appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, issued a manifesto ordering a cessation of Indian depredations, which had been carried on with such terrible results for six years. It was upon the knowledge of this action of Carlton that Washington countermanded the Indian expeditions proposed as above stated. Hassler in "Old Westmoreland" takes evident satisfaction in stating that General Carlton's order concluded the Indian war of the American Revolution. He, of course, permits Clark's expedition to be carried through. But he truly claims that Carlton's action ended the incursions of the savages as the allies of Great Britain, "acting with British aid and under the direction of British officers," but it did not altogether stop the personal depredations of the Ohio savages; indeed those lawless raids were continued into the spring

of 1783, when small parties of Shawnees and Wyandots crossed the Ohio and invaded with the tomahawk and rifle, the border settlements of Pennsylvania. Simon Girty was particularly active and persistent in keeping up the hostile raids of the warriors, a band of whom he led from the Sandusky to within five miles of Fort Pitt, on the very day Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Bayard, then temporarily in command of the post, was firing a salute in celebration of the confirmation of the news of peace between Great Britain and the United States. This raid, says Butterfield, was the last of Girty's border exploits during the American Revolution; he "never again imbued his hands in the blood of his countrymen," but removing to Detroit, remained in the pay of the British Indian Department as an intrepreter.

Appeals were made to Congress by the bordermen for protection and John Dickinson, President of the Pennsylvania Council, wrote Congress, April 29, 1783, calling attention to the Indian "calamities" still being perpetrated and asking Congress to inform them by authority that peace had been made with Great Britain, "that the back country with all the forts," is thereby ceded to us; that they (Indians) must now "depend upon us for their preservation," and unless they cease their activities the American armies would extirpate them.

To carry this message to the savages, Congress appointed Major Ephraim Douglas, who, accompanied by Captain George Cully, set out from Fort Pitt, June 7, 1783. Carrying a white flag of peace, they rode to the Sandusky River, which they reached on

June 16th. They visited the Wyandots, Shawnees and Delawares, conferring with Captain Pipe, and Dunquat, the Half-King. All then proceeded to Detroit where they were civilly received, on July 4, by de Peyster, who consented to an Indian council, which was attended by the chiefs of eleven tribes, representing nearly all the Indians from the Scioto to Lake Superior, viz., the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Miamis, Piankeshaws, Senecas, Kickapoos, Weas, Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawattomies. Long "talks" were had with chiefs to convince them the war was over and the Americans would insist on the peaceful behavior of the tribesmen. Douglas and Cully then proceeded to Fort Niagara, where they met the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, who was assured that the victorious Americans felt kindly toward and wished peace with the Six Nations.

Chapter XIX.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

THE surrender of the British at Yorktown October 19, 1781, practically ended the war with the mother country, but the official negotiations required to bring about the results of peace moved slowly in those days when there were no telegraph cables, by which conversation could be conducted with the government at London, and no steamships by which documents could in a few days be speeded across the Atlantic. Franklin, Jay and Adams acted in behalf of the victorious young republic and the preliminary treaty was signed in Paris, November 30, 1782. The definite treaty received the signatures of the representative ministers at Paris, on September 3, 1783. Three months later Washington took leave of his officers at Fraunce's Tavern, his New York headquarters, and three weeks later resigned his commission as general of the army and retired to private life. We need not enter upon the details of that famous Peace Treaty of 1783, as only a few features bear upon our story.

By the Quebec Act of 1774, it will be recalled, the boundaries of the Province of Quebec were extended by England to the Mississippi River on the west and the Ohio on the south with prohibitive measures as to its settlement by the American colonists, and other oppressive features which were grievances the colonists inserted in their Declaration of Independence. By the treaty of peace resulting from the American Revolution, the boundaries of the new and independent republic were acknowledged to be Florida, then belonging to Spain, on the south; the Mississippi River on the west, the vast and unexplored country

beyond being the possession of Spain; while the southern line of Canada, a line that could not then be absolutely fixed, was the northern extent of the United States. This gave the great "Northwest" territory to the new-born American nation of which Count d'Aranda who represented Spain in the treaty negotiations wrote, at the time: "The federal republic is born a pigmy," but prophetically added "a day will come when it will be a giant, even a colossus, formidable to these [European] countries." But the peace declared with England in the Paris Treaty was to be far from such in actual results.

In New England the war ended, in fact; but in the trans-Allegheny country it was to continue in a desultory and fitful, and at times most sanguinary, way for some thirteen years yet to come. This continuation of the war was to be mainly by the Indians, acting as the allies and agents of Great Britain. In the fourth, fifth and sixth articles of the Paris Treaty (1783) it was agreed that the creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bona fide* debts contracted before the war; Congress was to recommend to the states that they provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties which had been confiscated from the British subjects. The treaty said nothing as to indemnity or security by the United States for the enforcement of those provisions, while England agreed "with all convenient speed," to withdraw all "armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States and from every post, place and harbor within the same." Anticipating this feature

of the final peace agreement, Congress in the summer of 1783 authorized Washington to arrange with the British officers to receive the posts, heretofore occupied by them, at Mackinac, Detroit, Niagara, Oswego, Osewegatchie (Ogdenburg), Erie, Point-au-Fer and Dutchman's Point, and incidentally the Ohio posts at the mouth of the Maumee and of the Sandusky. Washington at once dispatched Baron Von Steuben to execute this errand. But when, at Sorel, the Baron met General Haldimand, the British governor of Canada, and delivered his message, the British general diplomatically but emphatically stated that he had received no orders to "turn over the posts" in question and, as we shall see, they remained, without shadow of right, garrisoned by and in the possession of England until their evacuation in June, 1796, as one of the terms of the "Jay Treaty," made with the British government in the fall of 1794.

The unsupported pretention of England to this high-handed business was that the retention of the posts was in the form of a security for the payment by the Americans of the claims of the despoiled or creditor Loyalists. England's real motive was to continue the protection of her fur trade in the Northwest, and to instigate the Indians to renewed hostilities against the western settlers, for Great Britain held to the hope that the American league of states would prove a "rope of sand" which would soon be torn asunder and then from the western posts might she regain a part at least of her lost territory.

The tribesmen, ever credulous of the blandishments of the agents of the Great Father beyond the

sea, were assured of the friendship and aid of their former English allies, and were given to understand that they would be cared for. With this "moral" support at his back, the Indian was not slow in renewing his protest against the occupation by the Americans of his beloved Ohio Valley. Indeed the Indian claim to this Ohio country was two-fold though conflicting. As already set forth, the Iroquois had always claimed it by right of conquest, a proprietary right, while their "tenants," the Ohio tribes, denied this assumption of the Six Nations and claimed the territory by both right of ownership and right of perpetual possession. Although England was now so profuse in her protestation of friendship and allegiance to the Indian, she had utterly ignored them in the treaty of Paris and had failed to make any provision for either the Iroquois nation or the trans-Allegheny tribes. This serious and unjust neglect General Haldimand hastened in some measure to repair by offering the New York Mohawks a home on the Grand River in Canada, an offer accepted by the warrior tribe.

With these Indian claims to the Ohio country in mind we turn to others even more complex and problematical.

Whatever might be the relation of the Indian to the territory in question, the relation of the colonies was a more pressing and direct one. The United States had wrested by conquest the Northwest Territory from England. Where was the title to this vast domain described by Mr. Gladstone as "a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established

by man"? Was it at the disposal of the National Government as common territory or did it belong distributively to the several states by reason of their original colonial charters? The latter persistently pressed their alleged rights. There were seven "claimant" states, a majority of the United States. Three of these, Georgia, North and South Carolina, each laying claim to the extensions of territory west to the Mississippi, do not enter into our discussion as they do not intrude upon the Northwest Territory.

Before considering the four claimants to the trans-Allegheny country, we must pick up another thread in the proceedings of the Revolution. The very day that the Continental Congress appointed a committee to draw up a Declaration of Independence, it also named a committee to prepare a form of government. The report of the latter committee, a report known as the "Articles of Confederation," was adopted by Congress in 1777. The assent of every one of the thirteen colonies was required to bring the proposed confederation into operation. By the end of 1779 the articles were ratified by all the colonies except Maryland which held off until 1781. Before that time the success of the Revolution was assured and the problem of the disposal of the Northwest Territory was already in debate. Maryland having no claim, through its colonial charter, upon the territory in issue, demanded that the northwest should become public domain, the property of the new confederate government, and declared she would not subscribe to the "articles" until that question was decided in accordance with her position. The Continental Con-

gress naturally championed this view of Maryland and early in 1780, by resolution, made pledge that if the lands in dispute were ceded by the disputant states to the confederation they should be disposed of for the common benefit of all the states and the territory when ceded should be divided into new states and admitted into the Union as confederated states on equal footing with the original thirteen.

The four claimant states, which at first obstinately held out for their respective sections, were Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut and Virginia. We consider their demands in the order named, demands which all grew out of the original colonial charters or grants, bestowing territory between certain degrees of latitude on the Atlantic coast westward as far as the land should go, the western limit being, at the time of the grants, unknown; even designated as the "south sea." These western extensions, however, since the treaty of 1783 must perforce end at the Mississippi, beyond which all was Spanish soil.

Massachusetts, with most vaulting ambition, claimed that the territorial width of her charter rights, beyond the New York colony, whose grant cut through the Bay State strip, and beyond Lake Erie, which also lay in her way, entitled her to a continuation in what are now southern portions of Michigan and Wisconsin. But New York denied the western resumption of Massachusetts, which so boldly over-leaped itself, and New York claimed that the Bay State stopped at the eastern boundary of the Empire State, the charter of the latter and not that of Massachusetts, continuing on west to the banks of the "Father of Waters."

More than this, New York claimed the territory west and north of the Ohio River by reason of her various treaties with the Iroquois who had ceded their western territorial conquest titles to the British authorities in the treaties we have already mentioned, and now the result of those treaties reverted to the New York State. These New York claims have been characterized as the "vaguest and most shadowy of all" the colonial demands. But they were seriously put forth.

Connecticut, with Yankee thrift and tenacity, stepping over the southern ocean edge of New York, demanded a strip of Pennsylvania, and then a continuation through the northern part of Ohio and on to the Mississippi, a claim conflicting, beyond Pennsylvania, with both New York and Virginia.

A full presentation of Virginia's plea, which surpassed all others in extent, though interesting, would be too lengthy for recital here. In brief her claim was based on the Charter of 1609, which granted the Virginia colony a stretch along the Atlantic coast, two hundred miles each—four hundred in all—north and south from Old Point Comfort and "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest." This latter expression, "west and northwest," says Avery in his History of the United States, was "wonderfully vague and led to serious controversy." It made great difference which line was drawn northwest. If the northwest extending line was drawn from the southern end of the four hundred miles of the coast, the domain thus limited would constitute a triangle of moderate area. If, on the other hand, explains

Mr. Avery, one line was drawn westerly from the southern of the two coast points and the remaining boundary line drawn northwesterly from the northern of the coast points, then the included territory would "embrace a great part of the continent and extend from sea to sea."

The first construction of the charter took in two-thirds of Ohio; the second interpretation, which Virginia adopted, included all of Ohio and the entire Northwest Territory. This latter claim, Virginia further strengthened by the plea, that, at her expense alone and under her sole direction, the Northwest had been rescued from England by the expedition of George Rogers Clark.

The problem of the claimant states bode fair for a while to bring disaster to the new confederation. But gradually the spirit of patriotism and unity prevailed and early in 1780 the New York legislature took the lead and "gracefully" passed an act pledging a cession of her claims to the Union. The act of cession by New York, however, in which she agreed to give up all claim to lands west of a north and south line drawn through the western end of Lake Ontario, did not take effect until March 1, 1781. On the strength of this action of New York and similar action foreshadowed by the other claimants, Maryland on February 1, 1781, ratified the "Articles of Confederation."

Virginia, which had strenously considered the subject and really had the most to yield, was the next to respond. She dickered not a little over the subject with Congress, making tentative offers which were refused but finally on March 1, 1784, her cession, with

certain reservations, became effective. She ceded all her territory north and west of the Ohio River, but reserved that part of Ohio lying between the Little Miami and the Scioto rivers, from a line between their respective sources, to the Ohio River; it comprised 6,570 square miles and 4,504,800 acres of land; it was thereafter known as the Virginia Military District of Ohio and was reserved for the sole purpose of satisfying the bounties promised by Virginia to her officers and soldiers who had served either in the colonial or Continental army during the Revolutionary War. Another reservation by Virginia was that of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by the state to General George Rogers Clark and the officers and soldiers of his regiment, "who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced," etc. The lands so reserved were located north of the Ohio, "at the Falls of the Ohio, in the county of Illinois." Certainly staunch old Virginia was true to her sons and her pledges to them.

Massachusetts followed suit on April 19, 1785, the tenth anniversary of the battle of Lexington and Concord, when she yielded to the federal government her claims to all lands west of New York.

Connecticut came last, "reluctantly, tardily, thriftily." It was not until May 26, 1786, that she relinquished "all right, title and interest, jurisdiction and claim" to lands within her chartered limits "lying west of a line one hundred and twenty miles west of and parallel with the western boundary line of the state of Pennsylvania." But all within her chartered limits for one hundred and twenty miles westward

from Pennsylvania and lying between latitudes 41° and 42° 2′ north, she *reserved* from conveyance and this retained territory became known as the "Western Reserve of Connecticut." This cession, says Alfred Mathews in his "Ohio and the Western Reserve," was a "bargain of the proverbial Yankee trader kind," for what Connecticut gave up in her far west claims, was "a few thousand miles of atmosphere, elusive, intangible"; she gave it for a "sure title to a tract of solid ground with definite boundaries, as large as the mother state," a tract of three and a quarter million acres.

Charles Moore, in his "Northwest under Three Flags," tersely sums up the effect of the cessions: "New York, by giving up early what she never had, won great credit; Virginia generously made a distinct sacrifice of dearly conquered territory over which she was actually exercising jurisdiction; Massachusetts quit-claimed a title she could not defend; and Connecticut gained an empire to which she was not entitled, but which she put to the very best uses."

Thus the Northwest Territory—"a vast empire, larger than any country in Europe, save Russia," became the public domain of the confederated states. But the aboriginal inhabitant and possessor was still there; the Indian claimant was still to be dealt with, and to the general government of the United States, now belonged the exclusive right to extinguish, either by purchase or by conquest, the Indian title of occupancy.

While Haldimand and the British authorities were making every endeavor to retain the favor of the

Six Nations and the western tribes, Washington and Congress sought to placate the tribesmen by bringing them under the care of the Federal government rather than leave them to be dealt with by the several states. With this in view a conference was called at Fort Stanwix, the present site of Rome, New York, in October, 1784. It was an event of great moment in American history; the parleyings continued for three weeks, with the usual prolonged ceremonies and lengthy "talks." The United States government was represented by Oliver Olcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee. The Iroquois tribes, Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscarawas, and Seneca-Abeal, were present in the persons of their chiefs and sachems; among whom the most conspicuous were Red Jacket and Cornplanter. This latter was a Seneca chief, his especial following being known as the "Seneca-O'beal," as his father was said to be a white trader named John O'Bail or O'Beel. The chief's mother was a full-blooded Seneca. Cornplanter, in his native tongue Garganwahgah, at the time of the Stanwix Treaty some fifty years of age, was a splendid specimen of his race and of commanding influence. He had sided against the English in the French and Indian War, but was a zealous adherent of the British in the American Revolution.

Cornplanter ardently urged harmony between the new government and the tribesmen. He "saw the folly of waging war single-handed against the whole power of the confederacy and exerted all his power for peace," but he wisely sought to avoid a definite treaty, without the concurrence of the western tribes. On the

contrary Red Jacket—Sagoyewatha, "he keeps them awake"—was boldly opposed to "burying the hatchet"; he would yield no land, concede no right. Red Jacket was some twenty years younger than Cornplanter; he had also been the friend of the British in the Revolution, though he was never prominent as a warrior, and his fame and influence rested mainly upon his powers of oratory, in which according to many writers of his time, he had no superior, perhaps hardly an equal, among his race. His appeal for the independent stand of his people was, says Lafayette, who was present "a masterpiece and every warrior who heard him was carried away with his eloquence."

But the treaty was finally agreed upon and signed in which among other features the Six Nations were to be secured in the possession of the lands they were then occupying but practically yielded to the United States all their interest in and right to the territory west and north of the Ohio. This treaty gave great dissatisfaction to the Ohio and western tribes—"those on the soil"—for these tribes, unrepresented at Fort Stanwix had ever refused to acknowledge that the Six Nations could deed away the Ohio lands.

There was one great chief, "conspicuous for his absence," at the Fort Stanwix Treaty. It was the Mohawk Brant, who, while Cornplanter and Red Jacket were contending over the policy of the Six Nations, was in Quebec for the purpose of securing title to the Grand River reservation for the Mohawks. He not only opposed the results of the Stanwix Treaty, but hastened to visit the western and northern tribes in the endeavor to form a confederacy for the pro-

tection of the western lands "as far south as the Ohio." With the aim of still further welding the claims of the Six Nations, especially the Mohawks, upon the British, he visited England in the following year (1785). His stay of several months in London forms a chapter full of picturesque and novel scenes, for Brant was the lion of the day. Royalty and nobility lavished their most luxurious hospitality upon this Mohawk chief; his polished and dignified manners and ready conversation gave him easy entry to the salons, not only of fashion, but of letters, and "among his most frequent guests," says his biographer Stone, "were Fox, Burke and Sheridan, and others of that splendid galaxy of eloquence and intellect, the master spirits of the House of Commons." But he seems to have returned laden with naught but empty honors to the new Canadian home of his Mohawk subjects.

The Fort Stanwix Treaty whatever else it accomplished, certainly cleared the northwest of the cloud of the Iroquois title. It remained for the Federal Government to make settlement with the Ohio tribes. This was done at the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, held in January, 1785. George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee spoke for the Government, while sachems and warriors represented the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations. At the treaty, among other stipulations, a new boundary line was agreed upon for the tribes just named. This boundary began at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River ran up said river to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; then down the Tuscarawas as far as the crossing place

above Fort Laurens; then westwardly to the portage of the Great Miami; then along the portage to the Maumee; down the Maumee to Lake Erie and the shore of the lake to the mouth of the Cuyahoga where the boundary began.

Within this territory, including nearly three-fourths of the state of Ohio, the Delawares, Wyandots and Ottawas were to "live and hunt" unmolested and should "any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian" attempt to settle on the lands thus allotted to the tribesmen named, "the Indians may punish him as they please." The Indians who signed this treaty, for themselves and in behalf of their tribes, acknowledged the lands east, south and west of the lines described "to belong to the United States;" and "none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same or any part of it." In this treaty, however, there were reserved in the Indian territory described, sites for posts, usually six miles square, respectively, at the mouth of the Miami, portage of the Big Miami, site of Old Fort Sandusky, and at "lower rapids of Sandusky River," which posts, and the lands annexed to them, "shall be to the use and under the government of the United States."

The treaty at Fort McIntosh dealt only with the Wyandots, Delawares and Ottawas in Northwestern Ohio. It was followed a year later, January 1786, by the treaty of Fort Finney, a post established for the occasion, at the mouth of the Great Miami. The clearing was made and the stockade erected, in the late autumn of 1785, by Captain William Finney

with a detachment of infantry from Fort McIntosh. The proceedings of the council are related at length in the journal of Richard Butler, who with George Rogers Clark and Samuel H. Parsons acted as treaty delegates for the government. The tribes represented were the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawnees. Many other Wabash and western tribes had been invited but failed to appear; their absence being attributed to the agents of England, especially Captain William Caldwell and Simon Girty, the latter making every possible effort to keep the tribesmen from the council, particularly the Shawnees, "the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in battle and the last at a treaty."

General Butler's journal gives a graphic account of the proceedings. The Shawnees appeared at the council house in their "war paint and feathers" but the presence of troops from Fort Harmar prevented any outbreak. Many "big chiefs" of the Wyandots and Delawares took part in the "talks," Tarhe, Captain Pipe, Wingenund, Big Cat and White Eyes; but the treaty as finally signed applied only to the Shawnees, who "acknowledged the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereign of all the territory ceded by Great Britain." The treaty allotted the Shawnees lands with a territory mainly between the Great Miami and the Wabash, within which they were not to be disturbed by other settlers, at the same time the Shawnees relinquished to the United States "all title or pretense of title" to the lands east, west and south of the territory reserved to them.

But the Fort Finney Treaty proved a mere paper one. The Shawnees promptly disregarded it and the other nations, not participating, utterly ignored it. Instigated by McKee, Elliott and Girty, the western tribes, especially those on the Ohio, renewed hostilities against the whites. The Kentuckians again sought the leadership of George Rogers Clark, "now but a wreck of his former self," who with a force of ten hundred frontiersmen, invaded the Wabash country, in the fall of the year (1786). But the great commander had lost his cunning and bravery, having become a slave to his drinking habits; his men lost confidence in him and deserted in great numbers; the expedition ended with fruitless results. At the same time, Colonel Benjamin Logan, commanding some five hundred mounted riflemen marched against the Shawnees in the Mad River country and destroyed many villages and fields of corn, took eighty prisoners and killed twenty Indians. Among the Indian centers destroyed were McKeestown and Machecheek. In this expedition Colonel Logan was aided by Colonels Thomas Kennedy, Robert Trotter and Robert Patterson. Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton were the advance scouts. Among the Indian warriors whom the Kentuckians encountered were the famous chiefs Blue Jacket, Little Turtle, Tecumseh and the old Shawnee chieftain Molunthe, who had favored peace with the whites, but was now, in this campaign, after a personal conflict with Colonel Patterson, made prisoner and then foully murdered by the "dare-devil renegade named McGarry," whom Roosevelt justly calls a scoundrel.

Meanwhile Brant was holding conferences with the British agents and the chiefs of the western and lake tribes, keeping alive the hostility of the Indians to the Americans as the latter sought by treaties with the various nations to secure possession of the trans-Allegheny country. This memorable year (1786) closed with a great gathering of the western tribes at the mouth of the Detroit River. More than twenty of the leading nations were present and made protest at the policy of the United States in making treaties with separate tribes, instead of with the authorities of "the whole confederacy." It was the claim of the great Indian chiefs that the possession and occupancy of the Northwest Territory belonged to the Indians as a race and not in severalty to the various tribes. Therefore a general consent was necessary to any treaty by the United States for title to the lands occupied by the tribesmen.

During the years that the states were ceding their territorial claims to the Government and the latter was entering into agreements with the Indian occupants for possession of the land and the right to make settlements thereon, Congress was considering a form of government for this vast and newly acquired territory.

On the 20th of May, 1785, Congress passed an ordinance for the survey and disposition of that portion of the territory which had been purchased from the Indians by the treaties of Forts Stanwix and McIntosh. To carry this ordinance into effect one surveyor was appointed for each state and placed under the direction of Thomas Hutchins, geographer of the United States and who was engineer of the

expedition to Ohio of Colonel Henry Bouquet in 1764. Rufus Putnam was the surveyor chosen from Massachusetts, but being at the time engaged in the survey of Maine, for the state of Massachusetts, he could not attend to the duty and General Benjamin Tupper was appointed in his place "until Mr. Putnam shall actually join the geographer and take the same upon himself."

The territory was to be surveyed into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south and others crossing at right angles. The first survey was to begin at the point where the western boundary of Pennsylvania intersects the northern bank of the Ohio River. From this point, a base line known as the Geographer's Line, was to be run due west. North and south lines six miles apart were to divide the territory into "ranges" and east and west lines six miles apart were to divide each range into townships. Each township therefore contained six square miles and each was to be divided into thirty-six lots, subsequently called sections, each one mile square. Lot sixteen of each township was to be reserved for the maintenance of public schools within that township and reservations were made for the patriot refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia and for the Moravian Indians of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrunn and Salem. The remaining lands were to be sold at auction for not less than a dollar, specie value, an acre and the cost of surveying. But, as we shall see, before any lands were sold under this system, Congress authorized the sale of large tracts at much lower prices to land companies or syndicates.

The inauguration of this survey was notice to the Indian inhabitants that the white invader was indeed preparing to come to stay. Hostile bands, regardless of all treaties, made the labors of the surveyors most hazardous, and in November 1785, a detachment of troops under Major John Doughty was sent to the mouth of the Muskingum River and there erected a stockade to be thereafter known as Fort Harmar. But the menace of Fort Harmar could not cover the proposed field of the surveyor's operations and owing to the Indian hostility the survey was not begun until the summer of 1786. It was thereafter continued with many interruptions and amid great dangers—the surveyors often requiring the presence of troops to prevent the attacks of the savages. It was the autumn of 1787 before the survey of the first seven ranges—extending forty-two miles west from Pennsylvania on the Geographer's Line—was completed. This Geographer's Line as determined in 1785, by Thomas Hutchins, the United States Geographer, was located on latitude 40° 38′ 02″, north, and was the northern boundary line of the famous Seven Ranges survey.

Chapter XX.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

AS early as the fall of 1776 and at various times later, up to the final peace agreement of 1783, Congress by resolution pledged bounty lands to those (officers) who served in the Continental Army. But until the cession of the claimant states, Congress had no lands at its disposal to fulfill its pledges. But the western territory was constantly in sight, and April 7, 1783, Timothy Pickering, member of Congress, wrote a friend that "there is a plan for the forming of a new state westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. The propositions respecting it are in the hands of General Huntington and General Putnam." Neither Huntington nor Pickering is heard of again in the matter. But Rufus Putnam pressed it upon General Washington in repeated letters, which Washington answered, affirming his own interest in the scheme and saying he had urged it upon Congress.

In June 1783, at Newburg, Washington's headquarters, nearly three hundred officers of the Continental line "who were about to exchange the hardships of war for the sufferings of poverty" petitioned Congress to "work out a district between Lake Erie and the Ohio River as the seat of a new colony," says Mr. Avery, "in time to be admitted as one of the confederated states of America." Rufus Putnam was the prime mover in this petition—and in large measure its author—but nothing came directly of the project.

Probably the same month (June) of this year (1783) the army officers petitioned Congress for the benefits

of the western lands, and Theodoric Bland, at Washington's suggestion and supported by Alexander Hamilton, moved, in Congress, the adoption of an Ordinance looking to the division, settlement and government of the western lands, which was referred to a "grand committee," composed of a member from each state; but the Bland Ordinance seems to have slept undisturbed in the grand committee.

In October of this same year (1783) before the United States had received title to any of the western domain, Congress appointed a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, to consider the form of government for the anticipated territory, and on March 1, 1784, the very day Virginia made her cession, which was accepted by Congress, Jefferson reported what is known as his Ordinance, providing for the dividing into districts of all the western lands "ceded or to be ceded," and for a temporary government therefor. Henry S. Randall, in his "Life of Thomas Jefferson," presents this Ordinance in full, which we need not repeat here. In brief this Ordinance of Mr. Jefferson embraced all the public territory east of the Mississippi River, between latitudes 31° and 47° north, which vast domain was to be divided into seventeen states by lines of latitude two degrees apart, intersected by two meridians of longitude. Ten of the states were to be north of the Ohio River and were to bear, after their natural characteristics, the classic and significant names of Sylvania, Michigania, Cherronesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia and Pelisipia. Under this classic checker-board arrangement,

the eastern part of Ohio would have been Washington, while the northwestern section would have fallen into Metropotamia, the middle western into Saratoga and the southwestern section into Pelisipia, "Pelisipy being another name discovered for the Ohio River."

The proposed states were to remain forever a part of the United States; and in them slavery should cease after the year 1800. The only persons dwelling in this vast domain at that time were about three thousand Louisiana French, mostly on the lower Mississippi, and the scattering French settlers in the northwest among whom were a few slaves. The settlers of the French towns in the territory taken by George Rogers Clark claimed, after the Revolution, to be citizens of Virginia. The settlers in each of the proposed ten northern states, according to Jefferson's plan, were to have a temporary government, which was to continue until the state reached a population of twenty thousand; then it could have a delegate in Congress and when its population should reach a census equal to any of the least numerous of the thirteen original states it might be admitted into the Union on an equality with the original states.

Congress duly considered this Ordinance and after several modifications, chiefly the rejection of the slavery clause and the repudiation of the bounds and classical names of the proposed states, the Ordinance was passed April 23, (1784). It was the end of Jefferson's labors in connection with his own Ordinance, or any other, for within three weeks after the passage of this Ordinance, viz., on May 10, 1784, Jefferson resigned his seat in Congress, in order to accept the

appointment of minister plenipotentiary to act in conjunction with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. On this mission he remained abroad till the close of the year 1789.

The Jefferson Ordinance remained nominally in force for three years, until the passage of the famous and better one of 1787. The Northwest continued meantime an unorganized wilderness, for the Ordinance of 1784 "left everything inchoate" and with all its merits was a nullity In the meantime Congress continued to consider the question of the settlement and government of this great domain and between the adoption of the Ordinance of 1784 and the final one of 1787, no less than three ordinances, each differing from the others, were reported to Congress and discussed by that body.

Committees on the subject of the Ordinance were appointed, by Congress, from time to time, until on the 19th of September, 1786, a committee which had been selected for the purpose devised a plan for a temporary government of the Northwest Territory, which plan was debated and altered from time to time until April 26, 1787, when a definite Ordinance was submitted to Congress. It was read the second time and was amended May 9th, its third reading being assigned for the following day. But on the 10th, further progress was suddenly arrested by a series of interesting events. On May 9th, General S. H. Parsons, of Connecticut, arrived in New York to negotiate the purchase, from Congress, of a tract of land for the "Ohio Company of Associates." The

project presented by Mr. Parsons was referred to a committee of five—Edward Carrington, Rufus King, Nathan Dane, James Madison and Egbert Benson; and there the matter rested until renewed some two months later. Action on the Ordinance for the Northwest Territory was likewise suspended as from May 10th to July 4th, Congress failed to have a quorum and no session was held during that interval.

On July 5th, the day Congress resumed business, says William F. Poole, the librarian of the Boston Library and later of the Cincinnati Library—in his monograph on the "Ordinance of 1787," a "dusty traveller, in the garb of a New England clergyman," arrived in New York and drove up in his one-horse sulky, to the "Plow and Harrow" tavern in the Bowery, having left his home in the town of Ipswich, Massachusetts, twelve days before. And now the Ohio Company purchase, represented by that "dusty traveller"—Manasseh Cutler—becomes the main factor in the progress of the Ordinance, which on July 9th, was referred to a new committee—Carrington and Lee (Richard H.) of Virginia, Dane of Massachusetts, Kean of South Carolina, and Smith of New York. On the day following Dr. Cutler, in response to an invitation of the committee, submitted in writing his views touching the Ordinance; on the 11th the committee reported and on the 13th, after receiving some amendments, the report was adopted by the unanimous vote of the eight states present and the unanimous vote of the individual members except Yates of New York, who opposed the measure. The Ordinance of 1787 had become a law. The literature

concerning its history and provisions is very great, the most concise and complete presentation being, perhaps, that of Jay A. Barrett, in his "Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787," published by the University of Nebraska.

We briefly summarize the provisions of this Ordinance. The first clause provides that for a temporary government the territory northwest of the Ohio should be treated as one district, "subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient." Regulations are made for the descent and conveyance of estates; the property of those dying intestate was to be divided equally among the legal heirs; the process of bequeathing property by will was made very simple, as was the conveyance of realty, but the French and Canadian inhabitants were permitted to retain their own laws as to descent and conveyance of property.

As to the government of the territory, Congress was to appoint a governor for three years; he was to reside in the district and must own a thousand acres of land; Congress should appoint a secretary for four years who must own five hundred acres of land; Congress was to appoint a court, consisting of three judges, who were to have a common law jurisdiction, and hold office during good behavior; these judges and the governor were to adopt criminal and civil laws, which were to be binding until a general assembly should be organized.

The governor was to be commander-in-chief of the militia and commission all officers below grade of

general; the governor also was to lay out the districts, where Indian titles were extinguished, into temporary counties and townships, and had power to appoint the civil officers for these districts.

When there were five thousand free male adult inhabitants, they could for every five hundred such inhabitants elect representatives, from their counties, to serve for two years in a general assembly; such representatives must have been residents of the United States or of the territory for three years and be land holders. The general assembly was to consist of the governor, a house of representatives, and a legislative council of five members, the latter to be chosen by Congress from ten persons nominated by the territorial house of representatives; the members of the council were to serve five years, must be residents of the territory and own five hundred acres of land. A bill in order to become a law must receive a majority vote in both council and house, and have the assent of the governor. The council and house, acting together, had authority to elect a delegate to Congress, who had the privilege of the floor but not the right of voting.

Following those provisions, which were in the nature of a preamble, there follow six articles to complete the Ordinance; they are introduced by a prefatory clause to the effect that these "articles shall be considered a compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent."

Article I guaranteed freedom of worship and religious sentiment.

Article II guaranteed the right of trial by jury and habeas corpus; bail, except for capital crimes; compensation for property taken for public benefit; the inviolability of private contracts.

Article III declared that "religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged"; the rights and property of the Indians were to be protected and war was not to be waged against them except by authority of Congress.

Article IV asserted that "said territory and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America"; the people residing therein were to pay their share of public debt, taxes, etc.; navigable waters leading from the district to the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence and the carrying-places between the same were to be common highways and free to the citizens of the United States.

Article V provided for the division of the territory into not less than three nor more than five states; the boundaries of these prospective states were designated; when any one of these states should contain sixty thousand free inhabitants, such state should be admitted by its delegates into Congress and should be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government; but it must be a republican form of government.

Article VI declared, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted"; but fugitive slaves escaping into the territory might be reclaimed.

Such is an epitome of the Ordinance of 1787.

The underlying principles of this great national document, the political and patriotic motives influencing the men who initiated it and framed its completion, it is not our province to discuss. It stands next and almost equal to the Constitution of the United States, which was being wrought out at the same time in the Constitutional Convention then in session in Philadelphia. Of the Ordinance, Mr. Webster declared, in a well-known passage: "We are accustomed to praise the law-givers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus, but I doubt whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." The greatest statesmen, political writers and patriotic orators have lavished their richest encomiums upon it, but we pass directly to the events that largely under the guidance of Manasseh Cutler and his "associates" brought about the passage of this Magna Charta of the Northwest.

The authorship of this Ordinance has been the subject of long and spirited controversy. Daniel Webster in his reply to Senator Hayne, speaking of the Ordinance, said: "That instrument was drawn by Nathan Dane, then and now a citizen of Massachusetts. It was adopted, as I think I have understood, without a single alteration." To this Senator Benton at once replied: "Mr. Dane was no more the author of that Ordinance, Sir, than you or I. That Ordinance and especially the non-slavery clause was not the work of Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, but of Thomas

Jefferson of Virginia." As to the Ordinance, as a whole, probably Nathan Dane had more to do with its construction than any other one member of Congress, for to him was assigned the task of drawing up the document in accordance with the various articles proposed. But he is not entitled to the credit of being its author, a credit however he did not hesitate to take to himself in letters written by him to Rufus King (1787), to Daniel Webster (1830), and to J. H. Farnham (1831). The authorship of the anti-slavery clause has especially evoked discussion. It has been attributed respectively to Jefferson, Dane, King and Cutler. Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784 provided in its fifth article, that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" should exist in the (Northwestern) states after the year 1800, except for the punishment of crimes. It did not prohibit slavery immediately from and after the passage of the Ordinance. On March 16, 1785, Rufus King, then member from Massachusetts, who served on several of the committees that were appointed on the Ordinance, introduced as a proposed article of the Ordinance, a resolution "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d of April 1784, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes," etc., and "this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the Constitutions between the thirteen original states and each of the states described in said resolve of April 23, 1784." This resolution—prohibiting slavery at the outset— was referred to the committee of the whole—Congress—and was never thereafter

called up for further action, and before the Ordinance was finally passed, in 1787, Rufus King withdrew from Congress to take part in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of which he was elected a member and which convened at Philadelphia in May, 1787. The anti-slavery article, however, with the fugitive slavery reclamation attachment, which was finally incorporated in the Ordinance, was submitted by Mr. Dane, on July 12, 1787. But to Mr. King is due the original introduction of the anti-slavery clause and its resulting insertion in the Ordinance by motion of Mr. Dane. That Manasseh Cutler as the lobbying agent of the Ohio Company and the solicited adviser of Mr. Dane, was most potent not only in securing the passage of the Ordinance but in assisting in the final touches to its construction, there is ample evidence. It is generally acknowledged that Cutler proposed the clauses in the Ordinance relating to religion and education, and he was also an ardent advocate of the anti-slavery clause and probably suggested the fugitive slavery reclamation addition in order to thereby secure the votes of the southern members. Mr. Rufus King—grandson of Rufus King of the Ordinance—in his succinct History of Ohio (1891) in the American Commonwealth Series, pertinently says: "The authorship of this Ordinance has lately been made a subject of curious speculation. It is certain that some eminent men were differing upon it a year before its passage. But that Nathan Dane had the chief hand in forming it as it ultimately appeared, was never doubted during his life or that of his contemporaries. Mr. Webster asserted it with

emphasis in both of his speeches in the great debate in January, 1830, concerning the public lands. Chief Justice Chase reiterated it in 1833 in the historical sketch prefixed to his compilation of the statutes of Ohio. Recent discoveries, however, are supposed to displace him, and Dr. Cutler is brought forward as having given the paper its stamp and character. The subject seems to have fallen under that morbid infirmity in literature which delights in denying Homer and Shakespeare their works, and sometimes has not spared even Holy Writ from its rage." The potent influence of Dr. Cutler in the construction and passage of the Ordinance is convincingly set forth in the "Life and Journals of Manasseh Cutler," by his grandchildren, William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkin Cutler.

Poole in his monograph puts it that "the Ordinance of 1787 is a condensed abstract of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780; every principle contained in the former, either in a germinal or developed form, except that relating to the obligations of contracts and some temporary provisions relating to the organization of the territorial government, is found in the latter, and often in the same phraseology." Undoubtedly the Ordinance was the composite of many minds and the outgrowth, in large measure, of the tentative documents of Bland and Jefferson. But we leave the Congressional proceedings concerning the great Ordinance in order that we may take up and follow the chain of events that brought Manasseh Cutler into participation in its enactment.

Chapter XXI.

THE OHIO COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES

IT was truly said that the colonies achieved their independence "at the price of the lives of many and the fortunes of all its defenders." The newborn republic had no credit; it could not borrow money; had no power to enforce a tax and no property with which to pay its debts. The continental specie certificates with which it bought supplies and paid its soldiers, had depreciated to about one-sixth their par vlaue. The unpaid officers, as we have seen, appealed to Congress at the suggestion of Thomas Pickerington and on the petition drawn up by Rufus Putnam. This latter now becomes the distinguished protagonist about whom revolve the events that lead to the settlement of Ohio.

In the center of Massachusetts, most picturesquely located on the divide between the valleys of the Connecticut and Merrimac rivers is the historic little village of Rutland, called the "Cradle of Ohio," because there resided Rufus Putnam, in whose house, still standing, was inaugurated the "Ohio Company of Associates."

Who and what was Rufus Putnam? He descended from the sturdiest Anglo-Saxon stock that came from Old England in the early colonial days. He was born at Sutton, Mass. (1738), in the fifth generation from John Putnam who with his family came to America from their Buckinghamshire home in 1634. When the boy was but seven years of age his father died and the succeeding stepfather, Captain John Sadler, illiterate and unsympathetic, denied the boy the most meagre means of education. But it was the familiar story of the irresistible efforts of an ambitious youth to

learn and succeed. Rufus persistently and even stealthily mastered the rudiments of the "larnin" of his environment. An athlete in size and strength and with the adventurous blood of youth he entered the colonial ranks in the French and Indian War, in which he came in touch with the distinguished cousin of his father, Captain Israel Putnam, from whom the boy learned many lessons of both savage and civilized warfare. He acquitted himself bravely in many a thrilling scene of this war, at the close of which he returned to his New Braintree home. In the interval between the French and the Indian War and the Revolution, Putnam pursued the vocations of farming, mill-building and surveying, in the latter of which he became most proficient.

Shortly after the "affair" at Lexington, Putnam entered the colonial army as lieutenant-colonel of Colonel David Brewer's regiment. We cannot follow in detail the rise to influence and fame of this gallant and sagacious officer. He is his own best biographer, for he kept a complete journal of the events through which he passed, and these memoirs have been admirably compiled and annotated by Miss Rowena Buell and published by the Colonial Dames in the State of Ohio.

Rufus Putnam achieved national distinction in the Revolution by his ingenuity and expertness as a military engineer. It was he who erected the defenses at Roxbury and proximate points. He had early attracted the attention and won the confidence of Washington, and it was his construction of the "chandelier"—timber and bundles of brush—forti-

RUFUS PUTNAM

Called the "Founder and Father of Ohio." Born in Sutton, Mass., 1738. Served in French and Indian War and was one of the most famous military engineers in the American Revolution. With Benjamin Tupper organized the Ohio Company and was its leader in the Marietta settlement. Appointed Surveyor-General of the Northwest Territory. Died at Marietta, April 7, 1788. Reproduction of an early engraving from an original portrait.

HOME OF RUFUS PUTNAM

House at Rutland, Mass., owned by Rufus Putnam, and occupied by him at the time he planned the Ohio Company. The house was built in 1760 by Colonel John Murray, a Tory. Colonel Murray fled at the outbreak of the American Revolution; his house was confiscated by the Colonists who sold it to Rufus Putnam. The Home is now owned and cared for by the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association.

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RUFUS PUTNAM HOUSE
RUTLAND MASS.

fications on Dorchester Heights, and their cunning placement in the darkness of night that dumfounded the troops of General William Howe and compelled their evacuation of Boston. This feat led Congress to appoint Putnam an engineer with rank of colonel and he became one of Washington's chief and most trusted confidents; and his adroit resourcefulness and coöperation were constantly in demand wherever the Continental troops were striving for advantage. In the winter of 1780, while serving with the "legion" of Anthony Wayne, the "flower" of the Revolutionary Army, Putnam under leave of absence, visited his family and during this furlough purchased the Rutland homestead which had been confiscated by the colonists from its Tory owner, Colonel John Murray. From now on to the close of the Revolution, Putnam is found amid the vicissitudes of the war, sustaining his reputation for abilty, sagacity, resourcefulness and indubitable courage. He became not only the trusted assistant, but the beloved friend of Washington, and retired from the Revolutionary service with the rank of brigadier-general. As early as the beginning of 1781, Putnam foresaw the prospective difficulties of providing for the Continental veterans, penniless and homeless as they surely would be at the end of the war. We have already noted that in June (1783) following the peace and before the final disbandment of the army at New Windsor, the officers submitted to Congress, a petition, drawn up by Putnam, asking for a grant of land in the western country. Washington favored and endorsed this petition, for no one better than Washington knew the needs of the veterans

nor the opportunities for their relief afforded by the lands of the great west. Washington had been down the Ohio (1770); he had seen the possibilities of the Ohio country and it was from their commander that the officers of the Continental Army learned, as they sat with him about the camp-fires of the Revolution, definite knowledge of the beauty and richness of the west. Washington acknowledged that at times he seriously contemplated removing his home to his lands washed by the waters of the beautiful river and in the dark hours of the "storm and stress" of the struggle for independence, he looked to the Ohio country as a safe refuge for the colonists, to which they might retreat and where, protected by the natural barriers of lake, river and mountain, they could set up their republic, if the armies of the King should drive the American rebels beyond the Alleghenies. Washington was therefore in full sympathy with the purposes of the Continental officers, and to him Putnam wrote in April, 1784: "We are growing quite impatient, and the general inquiry now is, when are we going to the Ohio?" The following year came the Ohio land survey ordinance; the appointment of Putnam as surveyor for Massachusetts and the temporary substitution of Benjamin Tupper in his place. This expedient brings another interesting personage into the chain of events we are following.

Benjamin Tupper's life runs singularly parallel to that of Rufus Putnam. Tupper was born at Stoughton, Mass., the same year that saw the birth of Rufus Putnam. While a mere lad Benjamin's father died and left the plucky boy to get his education in the

school of self-support and hard-knocks. He was a private soldier in the French and Indian War and one of the first to enlist in the Colonial ranks at the outbreak of the Revolution. He entered as lieutenant of a company, but for bravery and activity in service he was rapidly promoted until at the close of hostilities, like Putnam, he bore the title of brigadier-general. Also like Putnam he became expert as a surveyor and in his military career came in contact with both Putnam and Washington. Owing to obstacles which we have noted, the Hutchins surveying party of which Tupper was a member, got no farther west than Pittsburg until after the treaty with the savages made by General Parsons and other United States agents on the Miami in July, 1786. General Tupper returned to Massachusetts in the winter of 1785-6, but left again for the west in June 1786, when the survey of the seven ranges was completed under his direction. In his first visit to the "Forks of the Ohio," Tupper obtained full and enthusing knowledge of the fertility and beauty of the trans-Allegheny country. He returned to his New England home to report to his war-impoverished neighbors the prospects of the promised land in the West. He most naturally hastened to the home of his old friend Rufus Putnam. Accordingly these two military comrades, strengthened and seasoned by the experience of two wars, yet in the prime of life and their powers, met on the 9th of January, 1786, at that historic homestead in Rutland. The two projectors of the enterprise sat up the entire night discussing and maturing plans that were to result in the founding of a western empire.

What would we give for a snap-shot of those two nation-builders seated before that spacious old fireplace in their wigs and knee breeches, smoking their pipes and no doubt refreshing their "inner man" with draughts that cheered, as they consulted maps of the Ohio country and eagerly considered ways and means? It was a dream of empire to be realized beyond the imagination of man. The result of that memorable conference was that the two promoters united in a publication which appeared in the public papers of New England on the 25th of January, 1786, headed "Information," and dated January 10th, 1786, and signed Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper.

The "Information" was a public notice addressed to all officers and soldiers who served in the "late war" and who were by ordinance of Congress (1785) to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio country and also "all other good citizens who wished to become adventurers in that delightful region" to meet in certain towns specified in the different counties of the commonwealth of Massachusetts—and inhabitants in other states as should be subsequently agreed upon—to appoint delegates to a meeting to be held in Boston, March 1, 1786, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern—in the Revolutionary days the resort and political headquarters of the ultra whigs—to form an association by the name of the Ohio Company. The counties and towns for the respective meetings were named in the notice. In accordance with the various county and town meetings held, there met at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern on the date agreed (March 1), delegates chosen from eight counties. They were:

Winthrop Sargent and John Mills, from Suffolk; Manasseh Cutler, from Essex; John Brooks and Thomas Cushing, from Middlesex; Benjamin Tupper, from Hampshire; Crocker Sampson, from Plymouth; Rufus Putnam, from Worchester; John Patterson and Jahlaliel Woodbridge, from Berkshire, and Abraham Williams, from Barnstable. This meeting elected General Rufus Putnam chairman of the convention and Major Winthrop Sargent, clerk. Putnam, Tupper and others glowingly described the Ohio country and its advantages as a place of settlement. A committee consisting of Putnam, Cutler, Brooks, Sargent and Cushing, was named to draw up articles of association. The "convention" met again March 3d, to hear the report of the committee. These articles of agreement for "constituting an association of the Ohio Company" were lengthy and elaborate. The articles state the design of the association to be to raise a fund in continental specie certificates "for the sole purpose and entire use" of purchasing lands in the western territory. The fund was not to exceed one million dollars in continental specie certificates and one year's interest thereon. Each share to be one thousand dollars, and each shareholder was to contribute, in addition to one year's interest on the certificates, ten dollars in specie, as an expense fund. No person was permitted to hold over five shares. Five directors, a treasurer and a secretary were to be appointed. Business affairs moved slowly in those old days and the next meeting of the proposed association, called by special advertisement, was held March 8, 1787, in Boston at Bracket's Tavern—formerly "Cromwell's

Head" Tavern. At this meeting it was reported that two hundred and fifty—of the one thousand shares—had been subscribed. Of the five directors provided by the articles of agreement, three were then elected: General Samuel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam and Rev. Manasseh Cutler; Major Winthrop Sargent was chosen secretary and Colonel Richard Platt, treasurer of the company. The selection of the two other directors was postponed until the next meeting, when General James Varnum was made fourth director, the fifth one left unselected or if chosen was unrecorded. The directors appointed General Parsons, one of their number, to apply to Congress, then assembled in New York, for a purchase of lands. He made the application on the 9th of May, but after the 11th of that month there was no quorum till the 4th of July. General Parsons having returned home, the directors appointed Manassseh Cutler as the special agent of the association, to make a contract with the "Continental Congress" for a tract of land in the Great Western Territory "of the Union." And now the trend of events herein related, center in and depend upon Manasseh Cutler—a man wonderfully well equipped and endowed for the mission. His influence in the settlement of Ohio and the larger movement of the political organization of the Northwest Territory can hardly be overestimated.

Manasseh Cutler, a native (1742) of Killingly, Conn., the descendant of James Cutler, the first of his family to emigrate (1734) from England to America, had the advantage of such schooling as the neighboring country afforded and also the rarer care of private

MANASSEH CUTLER

Born, Killingly, Conn., 1742. Graduate of Yale, 1765. Teacher, preacher, physician, scientist. Served as chaplain in American Revolution. Became interested in the Ohio Company of Associates and acted as its agent before Congress. One of the most interesting and influential men of his day, and with Rufus Putnam brought about the success of the Ohio Company. He is buried at Hamilton in the cemetery near his home.

THE HOME OF MANASSEH CUTLER

Home of Cutler, known as "The Hamlet," at Hamilton, formerly Ipswich, Mass. A spacious mansion in which Cutler lived during the time he was acting as agent of the Ohio Company of Associates.

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tutors. His home was within short distance of New Haven, where he attended Yale College from which he graduated in 1765 with honor. He was a prodigy of intellectual progress and attainment. He taught school, studied law and engaged in its practice; entered the field of theology and was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church at Ipswich Hamlet (now Hamilton), Mass., in 1771. Says one biographer: "He was a man of unusual breadth and solidity of character; and while performing his pastoral duties with great fidelity and acceptance, he gave much time and thought to political and scientific investigation." No study in the then field of learning escaped his attention; he became an authority in botany, astronomy and many of the sciences; wrote and published scholarly discourses on lines of study and investigation, natural, political, theological, literary; he was a voluminous writer; carried on correspondence with the leading scholars of Europe and America, and kept a journal in which the details of his daily labors, narrations of current events and his meditations were most entertainingly set down. He served as chaplain in the Revolution but on his return to his home in 1779, he wrote in his diary: "I have spent considerable of an estate in the support of my family and am now driven to the practice of physic," whereupon "he read medicine assiduously, studied anatomy, prepared medicines and attended the sick, in addition to his usual pastoral duties." In 1782 he opened "in his own house" a private boarding school which he continued for twenty-five years, instructing the youthful patrons in all subjects known to the pedagogue of those

days. Many a distinguished contemporary sent his son to the school of the learned Dr. Manasseh Cutler, the paragon of industry and intelligence. The Ohio Company at once enlisted his interest and coöperation, and now, say the annotators to his life and journals: "At the age of forty-five, he enters upon one of those peculiar episodes of human life that would seem like detaching a well-regulated planet from its orbit, and sending it off on an errand fraught with immensely greater results than any that could have been accomplished in its ordinary course. He did not ignore or abandon his chosen profession, or slacken his pursuit of the higher branches of knowledge. He rather brought to bear upon his new enterprise all the acquisitions, experience, sound judgment and elevated aspirations of his life hitherto. He therefore entered upon the Ohio business with a zeal and enthusiam that called forth all his energies." Rufus Putnam was the protagonist and general of the Ohio Company, but Manasseh Cutler was its sage, diplomat and statesman; and it is not too much to say that but for the ability and practical shrewdness of this man, the project of the settlement of Ohio would have temporarily, at least, failed, and probably the course of early Ohio history would have been far different. We saw that in accordance with the "Information" of Putnam and Tupper, Manasseh Cutler, represented his county at the first meeting at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern; at the second meeting a year later after the failure of the mission to Congress of Mr. Parsons in May (1787), Mr. Cutler was made the agent to accomplish the task of securing the purchase of the lands. Dr. Cutler

relates the story, with great particularity in his journal.

Dr. Cutler arrived in New York, with some fifty letters of introduction to leading congressmen and government officials, and immediately (July 6th) presented his petition for the purchase of lands for the Ohio Company with the proposed terms and conditions of purchase. The matter was immediately referred to a committee and the negotiations continued for three weeks, during which period Dr. Cutler had many hearings before the Congressional committees and exerted various influences upon the members to bring about the consummation of his efforts. The first week was mainly taken up with the disposal of the "Ordinance of 1787" in which, as we have seen, Dr. Cutler took a most important part; it was a prerequisite that the Ordinance pass, for the Ohio Associates would hardly be persuaded to buy lands in a territory without the protective law and government of the United States.

Congress was not at first favorable to the conditions of the purchase as proposed by Cutler. The Government desired certain reservations, in certain localities, for schools, religion and future congressional dispositions. These stipulations were not satisfactory to Dr. Cutler and in the midst of quibbles and delays he threatened to leave New York and abandon the enterprise, when other parties entered the negotiations and changed the situation.

Colonel William Duer, an Englishman, resident in the United States since 1768, a colonel of Colonial militia, delegate to the Continental Congress (1777-8), assisted Alexander Hamilton in organizing the Treasury

Department in 1788-9, and a man of keen business instincts and wide experience in large transactions, "came to me" says Cutler, "with proposals from a number of the principal characters of the city, to extend our contract and take in another company—but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted and offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably."

Duer had been quick to see the advantage the sale of lands by Congress to the Ohio Company would be to the public credit and the value that would thereby be given to the lands adjoining the purchase, "by a systematic settlement of such men as composed the Ohio Company." Duer had in mind the Scioto Company "speculation." Dr. Cutler continues in his diary: "I spent the evening closeted with Colonel Duer and agreed to purchase more land, if terms can be obtained, for another company, which will probably forward the negotiation." The next day he told members of Congress that if they would "accede to the terms I had proposed I would extend the purchase to the tenth township from the Ohio and to the Scioto inclusive, by which Congress could pay near four million dollars of the National debts." The "lobbying"—for such it was by the astute Cutler—was vigorously renewed and pressure was brought to bear upon the opposing Congressmen. "In order to get some of them," writes Cutler, "so as to work powerfully on their minds, we were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them; in some instances we engaged one person, who engaged

a second, he a third, and so on to the fourth before we could effect our purpose." Surely among the many other matters of which Cutler was master, the art of "persuasion" was not wanting. It had been the purpose to make General S. H. Parsons governor of the new territory, but finding General St. Clair, then president of Congress, would be more interested in the project of the purchase if the governorship should fall to him, Cutler shifted to St. Clair and embraced the opportunity to declare that he "heartily wished that His Excellency General St. Clair might be Governor and that I would solicit the eastern members [of Congress] to favor such an arrangement." Then "matters went on much better," and "we now entered into the true spirit of negotiations with great bodies; every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work we now put in motion."

On July 27th, Congress passed the ordinance of purchase, by which "we obtained the grant of near five million acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars, one million and a half acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the prominent characters of America are concerned; without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company."

The day the Ohio purchase bill passed Congress, Dr. Cutler started for home which he reached in one week after completing "one of the most interesting and agreeable journeys I ever made in my life," a journey, with its side detours, of nearly nine hundred

miles, all in the "one-horse sulky." On August 29, he went to Boston and at a meeting in the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, made an extended report of his dealings with Congress, ending with the purchase. The contract with the Government for this purchase, however, was not consummated until October 27, (1787) when Dr. Cutler wrote in his journal: "This day completed our contract with the Board of Treasury for near six millions of acres of land, and Major Sargent and myself signed the Indentured Agreement on parchment in two distinct contracts; one for the Ohio Company and the other for the Scioto Company; the greatest private contract ever made in America."

The contract for the sale by the government was signed on the day just named, by Samuel Osgood and Arthur Lee of the Board of Treasury of the United States and by Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent for the Ohio Company. The contract stipulated that for the consideration of five hundred thousand dollars "in specie, loan office certificates reduced to specie or certificates of the liquidated debt of the United States," paid to the treasurer and upon the further payment of a similar sum, when the exterior line of the contracts had been surveyed by the geographer or proper officer of the United States. The tract of land secured was bounded on the east by the seventh range of townships, south by the Ohio, west by the west boundary of the seventeenth range, extending so far north that an east and west line would embrace the number of acres, besides the reservations, which were section sixteen for schools, twenty-nine for religion, eight, eleven and twenty-six to be disposed

of by Congress and two townships for a university. The land for the Scioto Company—the "private speculation"—lay between the north and west lines of the Ohio Company's purchase, and the north line of the tenth township of the seventh range and the west line of the seventeenth range and the Scioto River —in all about four million, five hundred thousand acres. The payments on the "private speculation" were to be two-thirds of a dollar per acre in public securities in four semi-annual installments, the first falling due six months after the exterior line of the tract had been surveyed by the government.

For the sake of continuity in its history, we anticipate a few years as to the outcome of the Ohio Company purchase. The Company made its first required payment, but failure of some of the shareholders to make good their obligations, "the expenses of the Indian War, the losses sustained through their treasurer,"—Colonel Richard Platt—so embarrassed the company that it was impossible for them to pay the remaining $500,000. Early in 1792 the directors of the company met in Philadelphia and memorialized Congress for relief. Congress finally modified the original contract by authorizing a conveyance for that half of the tract already paid for (750,000 acres); another conveyance for 214,285 acres (one seventh of the original purchase), to be paid for within six months by warrants—army vouchers—issued for bounty rights; and a third conveyance for one hundred thousand acres which was to be transferred in tracts of one hundred acres as a bounty to each male person of eighteen years of age, becoming an actual settler—

this was known as the Donation Tract. On May 10, 1792, President Washington issued to the Ohio Company, the three patents covering the above three transfers. The fortunes, or rather the misfortunes, of the Scioto Company purchase we will follow later on.

Meetings of the directors and agents of the Ohio Company were held at Bracket's Tavern, Boston, November 21, 1787, and at Rice's Tavern, Providence, R. I., on March 5, 1788. At these meetings, details as to the surveying, dividing and allotting the land to be settled were arranged; four thousand acres "near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum" were designated for "a city and commons"; and contiguous to this, one thousand lots of eight acres each were to be surveyed and platted. Ebenezer Sproat, Anselm Tupper—son of Benjamin Tupper—John Mathews, and R. J. Meigs were chosen surveyors, and General Rufus Putnam "superintendent of all the business aforesaid" and "he is to be obeyed and respected accordingly."

At the last meeting, held at Bracket's Tavern, it was ordered that for the initial party of settlers, four surveyors be employed; that twenty-two men should attend the surveyors; that there be added to this number twenty men, including six boat builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common workmen; their wages were to be four dollars a month and "subsistence,"—except the superintendent—Rufus Putnam—who received forty dollars per month and the steward—Major Haffield White—and surveyors twenty-seven dollars; all these men were to be pro-

prietors in the Ohio Company. Each man was to furnish himself "with a good small arm, bayonet, six flints, a powder-horn and pouch, priming wire and brush, half pound of powder, one pound of balls and one pound of buckshot," in addition would be their tools and "one axe and one hoe to each man and thirty pounds weight of baggage."

By the advice of Thomas Hutchins, the geographer of the United States, the tract for the initial settlement of the Ohio Company was located on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. Mr. Hutchins considered it "the best part of the whole western country," and he had visited the country from Pennsylvania to the Illinois. It was therefore decided at the Bracket's Tavern meeting that a tract of five thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of land near the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers be reserved for a city and commons; and it was resolved among other things that "the house lots shall consist of ninety feet front and one hundred and eighty feet in depth." Other details of the plan of the first settlement were agreed upon. The name proposed for the settlement was "Adelphia," which Mr. Cutler said,"strictly means *brethren*, and I wish it may ever be characteristic of the Ohio Company." The land secured and plans perfected, nothing remained but the execution.

In accordance with all the preliminaries, twenty-two of the number who were boat-builders and mechanics, assembled at Danvers, Mass., on December 1, 1787 under command of Major Haffield White; the remainder of the company gathered at Hartford, Conn., early in January (1788). Those who met at

Danvers were the first to start for their new possessions, called by many who derided and ridiculed this scheme, "Putnam's Paradise" and "Cutler's Indian Heaven." Some of the party started from Dr. Cutler's home at Ipswich. He prepared a large, well-built wagon for their use, covered with black canvas, on which he himself had painted in large white letters "For the Ohio." Dr. Cutler personally accompanied the company to Danvers, where he bade them a farewell on their departure, November 30, 1787. Dr. Cutler never went to Marietta as a resident, but visited the settlement in the summer of 1788. His son, Jervis Cutler, was one of the Danvers' party and it is said, was the first to leap ashore at the landing of the "Mayflower." Two other sons—Ephraim and Temple —of Manasseh Cutler later joined the Marietta colony. The route of Major White's party was along the old military road across Pennsylvania and over the Alleghenies. After a journey of nearly eight weeks, they arrived at Sumrill's Ferry, now West Newton, Pa., on January 23, 1788, where they remained till April 1st, engaged in the building of the boats that were to carry them down the Ohio to their destination. The second division of the company rendezvoused at Hartford, Connecticut, on the first of January, 1788. They were there met by General Rufus Putnam who was personally to have commanded their journey, but as he says in his journal, "was under the necessity of going by New York, so the company went forward in command of Colonel Ebenezer Sproat."

Dispatching his business at New York, Rufus Putnam pressed forward and overtook the Sproat

division at "Lincoln's Run near Sweetterret (Swatara) Creek" foot of the Tuscarawas Mountains. They reached Sumrill's Ferry, where they found the White party, February 14, 1788. After the arrival of Putnam's party the work of boat building was redoubled. The largest convoy built was at first named the "Adventure Galley" afterwards called the "Mayflower" in remembrance of the vessel that landed at Plymouth (1620), and had among her famous passengers, ancestors of some of the Ohio Company. The second "Mayflower," forty-five feet long and twelve feet wide, with a burden of fifty tons, was built with stout timbers and knees like a galley, with the bottom raking fore and aft, and decked over all with planks. The deck was sufficiently high for a man to walk upright under the beams and the sides so thick as to resist a rifle bullet. The steersman and rowers were thus safely sheltered from the attack of enemies on the banks. But the "Mayflower" was not ample enough to carry the "forty-eighters" with all their horses, wagons, baggage, tools and provisions, so an additional large flat boat called the "Adelphia" and three small canoes were constructed. In this little fleet the advance corps of the Ohio Company "set sail," April 1, 1788, under command of Rufus Putnam. There were forty-seven men in the expedition according to the list of names given by Hildreth in his "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley"; the number forty-eight is usually given by the authorities, but that number includes the name of Col. R. J. Meigs who did not arrive until the 12th of April. There were no women or children accom-

panying this advance contingent. The families were brought on later, many of them not arriving until the spring of the following year.

It was an illustrious band; they were men of exceptional character, talents and attainments; they were the best of New England culture; they were Revolutionary heroes; said Senator George F. Hoar in his magnificent oration at the hundredth anniversary of the Marietta settlement: "Never did the great Husbandman choose his seed more carefully then when he planted Ohio; I do not believe the same number of persons fitted for the highest duties and responsibilities of war and peace could ever have been found in a community of the same size as were among the men who founded Marietta in the spring of 1788, or who joined them within twelve months thereafter." "No colony in America," said Washington, "was settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum; information, property, and strength will be its characteristics; I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of a community." "I knew them all," said Lafayette, "I knew them all; I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown and Rhode Island; they were the bravest of the brave."

The flotilla bearing this heroic and historic company glided with the current down the Youghiogheny into the Monongahela and then passing under the shadow of Fort Pitt swung into the "broad bosom of the Ohio." The story of that journey is an oft repeated tale. "For several days and nights," says Walker, the historian of Athens county, "they pursued their

THE GALLEY ADVENTURE

The main boat in which the first emigrants of the Ohio Company from New England traveled (1788) from Sumrill's Ferry to Marietta. It was also called the "Second Mayflower." This boat was forty-five feet long and twelve feet wide. The picture herewith produced is that of a miniature model of the boat now preserved at Marietta.

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

Fortress and stockade built by the first settlers at Marietta. The smaller, wall-enclosed, square was called the "Capitolium," the larger one the "Quadranaou." A broad, graded road leading from the Quadranaou to the river was called the "Via Sacra."

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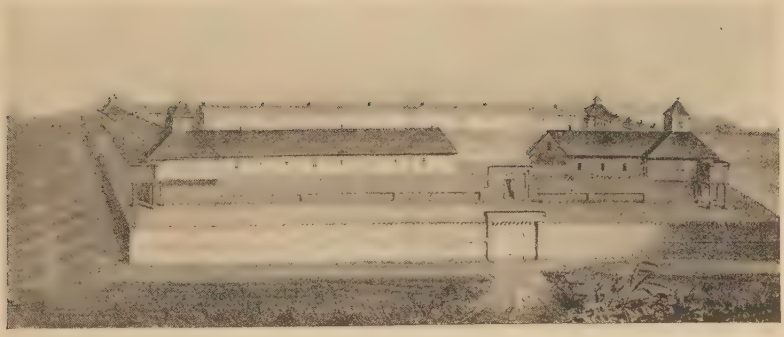

solitary travel, urged along only by the current of the beautiful river, whose banks gave no signs of civilized life, nor of welcome to the pioneers; occasionally, a flock of wild turkeys in the underbrush, or a startled deer, drinking at the water's edge, would draw the fire of the riflemen from the boats; and now and then the dusky form of an Indian could be seen darting into the forest." A little after sunrise on the morning of the seventh, they came in sight of Fort Harmar, just below which amid fog and rain, they hauled to about noon. The current had carried them beyond their intended landing point. The commandant of the fort, Major Doughty, sending some soldiers to their aid, Putnam's little band towed the boats up stream, and crossing the Muskingum, landed upon the site of Marietta. The "adventurers" were welcomed by a party of about seventy Wyandot and Delaware Indians, warriors, women and children, of whom the famous Captain Pipe was the principal character. The landing of the stores and baggage was begun at once as well as the erection of General Putnam's large tent, known as a "marquee," a portion of the plunder taken by General Putnam's regiment from the British at the surrender of Burgoyne's army in the Revolution. Thus was planted the Marietta settlement, the first purely colonial one in the Northwest Territory after its organization. There were many white settlers in various localities, traders' stations, missionary posts, etc., west of the Alleghenies previous to the arrival of the Ohio Company immigrants, but the latter was the first distinct permanent American western settlement.

"Under the broad roof," says Hildreth, "of his hempen house," Putnam resided and "transacted the business of the colony for several months, until the blockhouses of Campus Martius, as their new garrison was called, were finished." The site selected for their town was a level plain, thirty feet above the Muskingum, on its eastern side, "where once the Mound Builders had made a resting place, setting up an arrow factory and heaping up piles of dirt for the scientists to battle over to this day." It was spring time and nature was in her bright and cheery garb. The place was picturesque; the soil rich; the climate "exceedingly healthy"; there were buffaloes in droves, plenty of deer and "turkies innumerable"; and "corn grew nine inches in twenty-four hours." Certainly it was a land of promise. Of this locality Washington wrote Richard Henderson, under date of June 19, 1788, in a letter from which we quoted his views of the settlers: "If I was a young man, just preparing to begin the world, or if advanced in life, and had a family to make provision for, I know of no country where I should rather fix my habitation than in some part of the region [mouth of Muskingum]—for which the writer of the queries seems to have a predilection."

That Washington had intelligent faith in the prospects of the Ohio country is evidenced by the fact that he had purchased, several years before, from Revolutionary veterans, warrants for three thousand acres and more of bounty lands in the Virginia Military District of Ohio, and had them located in what are now Clermont and Hamilton counties. The tracts covered by these warrants were being surveyed

at the time (spring of 1788) that Washington was writing this endorsement of the Ohio country. He held his Ohio lands until his death, invoicing them in the appraisal of his estate attached to his will, at fifteen thousand dollars and regarding them as among the most valuable pieces of his realty. The subsequent loss to Washington's estate of these Miami lands, through non-compliance as to technical records by the surveyor, and the interminable legislation of Congress, extending even to the present day, touching the same, forms a most curious recital, which the writer has fully set forth in the publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The delighted pioneers began at once to survey the eight-acre lots and "lay out the town," which they at first called, at the suggestion of Dr. Cutler, "Adelphia," city of "brothers," but a few weeks later formally resolved to name Marietta, an abbreviation of Marie Antoinette, the "fair queen of France, a lady who had treated the minister of the Young American Republic, the venerable Franklin, when at the Court of Louis XVI, with all the respect and kindness due to her own father." Roosevelt, that singular embodiment of the Rough Rider and the cultured collegiate, curiously enough jeers at the Marietta settlers for the "dreadful pseudo-classic cult" bestowed in their names on some of the most prominent objects in the ruins—Mound Builders' remains—of the ancient town. The smaller, wall-enclosed, square was called the "Capitolium," the larger one the "Quadranaou," and the broad graded road with high embankments on each side leading up from the river to Quadranaou,

was called "Sacra Via." But Roosevelt should have remembered that many of these Marietta settlers were college graduates bearing degrees from Harvard and Yale and representing the best culture of New England; and the wild west could not eradicate the literary flavor engrafted in their nature. The capital city of the Northwest Territory, for such Marietta was, had temporary rules and regulations of government, which "were written out and posted up on the smooth trunk of a large beech tree," on July 4th, on which day a patriotic celebration was held; a sumptuous dinner provided, says Hildreth, and "eaten under a bowery which stretched along on the bank of the Muskingum." The table was supplied with venison, bear meat, buffalo, roast pig and a variety of fish. The officers of Fort Harmar sat at this feast with the pioneers and regular toasts were responded to; General James Mitchell Varnum delivered an oration; which for rhetorical flights, ornate expression, patriotic sentiments and poetical thought is hardly to be surpassed. From General Varnum's oration we cite one paragraph with the accompanying poetical quotation: "The fertility of the soil—the temperature and salubrity of the air—beautifully diversified prospects—innumerable streams, through a variety of channels communicating with the ocean, and the opening prospects of a prodigious trade and commerce, are among the advantages which welcome the admiring stranger."

"Sweet is the breath of early morn, her rising sweet
With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,
When first, on this delightful land, he spreads
His orient beams on herb, tree, fruit, and flower
Glist'ning with dew; fertile the fragrant earth,

FORT HARMAR

Erected in 1785 by Major John Doughty. Its walls were formed of large horizontal timbers, the bastions being fourteen feet high, set firmly in the earth. Back of the Fort Major Doughty laid out an orchard in which he raised the familiar "Doughty Peach." This picture represents the fort in 1790.

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After mild showers, and sweet the coming on
Of grateful evening mild; the silent nights,
With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
And these the gems of heaven, her starry train."

Congress had appointed Arthur St. Clair governor of the new territory; James M. Varnum, Samuel H. Parsons and John Armstrong, judges; and Winthrop Sargent, secretary. These distinguished names were typical of the New England stock which comprised the pioneer officials and statesmen of the Northwest. Of Arthur St. Clair we shall learn much in subsequent pages. Varnum was from Massachusetts, a graduate of Brown University, a general in the Revolutionary Army and a member of the Continental Congress. Parsons was from Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard, for eighteen sessions a member of the Connecticut Assembly and a general in the Revolution. Armstrong was a Pennsylvanian, a student at Princeton when he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army, in which he became a major; he was the author of the "Newburgh Addresses," written at the end of the war to induce the army to demand its just dues from Congress. Sargent was a Massachusetts man, a graduate of Harvard and served as a major in the Revolutionary Army. Subsequently John Cleve Symmes was substituted for Mr. Armstrong who declined the appointment.

The good people of Marietta, says Charles Moore, "had reason to be proud of their new officials, and particularly of their governor." St. Clair was a Scotch-American soldier, born at Thurso, Caithnessshire, Scotland, educated at the University of Edinburgh, emigrating to America in 1758, at the age

of twenty-four. He had already enlisted in the Royal Americans, "the regiment of his friends Bouquet and Haldimand." He was with Amherst, in the siege of Louisburg and as a lieutenant climbed the Plains of Abraham with the intrepid but ill-fated Wolfe. After the French and Indian War he purchased a large estate in the Ligonier Valley, Pennsylvania, where with his wife, Phoebe Bayard, niece of Governor James Bowdoin, he occupied a spacious mansion; his wealth and ability gave him influence and office in his chosen home. It was he, who at the command of Lord Dunmore, arrested and jailed Dr. Connolly for breach of peace at Fort Pitt. At the outbreak of the Revolution, St. Clair raised a regiment with which he marched to Quebec in time to cover the retreat of Benedict Arnold. Congress made him a brigadier-general and until the close of the Revolution, "he was an active, faithful and even brilliant commander." His fortune was sacrificed in the war for independence and now—time of his appointment to the office of territorial governor—adds Moore, "at the age of fifty-four, his chestnut hair, but little touched with white, and his polished manners courting favor from every one on whom his blue-grey eyes smiled, he had come to preside at the making of a state." Roosevelt thus characterizes St. Clair: "He was a friend of Washington and in politics a firm Federalist; he was devoted to the cause of Union and Liberty; and was a conscientious, high-minded man. But he had no aptitude for the incredibly difficult task of subduing the formidable forest Indians, with their peculiar and dangerous system of warfare; he possessed

no capacity for getting on with the frontiersmen, being without sympathy for their virtues, while keenly alive as to their unattractive faults; he was an autocrat both by military training and political principles." Charles Moore thus brings St. Clair to the seat of his official position.

"On the morning of the 9th of July the boom of a boat's gun awoke the echoes between the forest-lined banks of the broad Ohio, and soon a barge, hurried by the swift current and twelve stalwart watermen, turned into the Muskingum and swung up to the rude landing-place at Marietta. The Governor of the Northwest Territory had arrived at the capital. It was a great day for the new colony; and with the true New Englanders' love of dignity and order, they were determined to make the most of it. The Revolutionary veteran General Harmar and his handful of soldiers from the fort were drawn up in line, the burnished gun-barrels glistening in the July sun; there too was Rufus Putnam, unwearied surveyor, matchless engineer, veteran soldier and founder of the great state that was to be; and Judge Varnum, who, apostrophizing the new governor in sonorous periods on the nation's birthday, had called on the gently flowing Ohio to 'bear him, oh bear him safely to this anxious spot,' and on the 'beautiful, transparent Muskingum to swell at the moment of his approach and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight!' Amidst the ruffle of drums and the booming of the federal salute of fourteen guns, the commanding figure of Governor Arthur St. Clair stepped from the barge of state, closely followed by Judge Parsons and

Secretary Sargent." The interesting details of the initial proceedings, military, civil and judicial, of the new government, are amply related by William Henry Smith, in his sketch of Arthur St. Clair, prefatory to the publication of the "St. Clair Papers."

The first laws for the government of the territory were published by the governor and judges at Marietta. They embraced acts regulating and establishing the militia; for creating general courts of quarter session of the peace and for establishing county courts of common pleas, and the offices of sheriff, justices, etc.; the time of convening courts and the rules regulating their procedure. These are set forth in the historical preface to Chase's Statutes of Ohio.

The laws respecting crimes quite remind one of the penal codes of the New England colonies. There were laws for the suppression and prevention of profanity, irreverent and obscene language, and compelling the observance of the Sabbath. The "punishments for theft and minor offenses consisted of fines, whipping, confinement in the stocks and binding out to hard labor for a limited time." Pillories, whipping posts and stocks, in addition to the jail, were "emblems of justice that were continued in Marietta as late as the year 1812." Governor St. Clair at once proceeded to create the boundaries of the first county in the new territory; it was named Washington. Its boundaries were practically all of eastern and southern Ohio which had been reserved to the government in the treaties setting aside the northwestern portion of the state (to be) for the Indian reservation, viz.:

WASHINGTON'S OHIO LAND WARRANT

Photographic reproduction of the land warrant issued to George Washington, for 3,000 acres of land in Ohio-Virginia Military District. This land was located by Washington's surveyor in what is now Clermont and Hamilton counties. Washington bought the original land warrant in 1774 from one John Rootes, to whom the warrant was issued in 1763 for services in the French and Indian War. Washington owned this land at the time of his death.

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treaty setting aside the northwestern portion of the
state to be) for the Indian reservation, viz.:

Land Office Military WARRANT, No. 3955

To the principal SURVEYOR of the Land's set apart for the Officers and Soldiers of the Commonwealth of VIRGINIA.

THIS shall be your WARRANT to survey and lay off in one or more Surveys, for [illegible]

[illegible] of John Roots

his Heirs or Assigns, the Quantity of [illegible]

Acres of Land, due unto the said [illegible]

[illegible]

Certificate from the Auditors and Council, received in the Land-Office. GIVEN under my Hand, and the Seal of the said Office this [illegible]

Day of [illegible] in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and [illegible]

[illegible]

"Beginning on the bank of the Ohio River, where the western boundary line of Pennsylvania crosses it, and running with that line to Lake Erie; thence along the southern shore of said lake to the mouth of Cuyahoga River; thence up said river to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence adown the branch to the forks, at the crossing place above Fort Laurens; thence with a line to be drawn westerly to the portage of that branch of the Big Miami, on which the fort stood that was taken by the French in 1752, until it meets the road from the lower Shawanese town to the Sandusky; thence south to the Scioto River; down that to its mouth; and thence up the Ohio River to the place of beginning."

On Monday, July 21, 1788, Dr. Cutler's diary reads: "Set out from Ipswich on a journey to the Ohio and Muskingum." He started in that well-worn sulky and kept a daily journal in which he described his experiences with great minutiae. His versatility was in full play duing this journey for he preached at points on the way and administered emetic and cathartics to some bilious companions with whom he fell in. He passed through Pennsylvania, touching at Harrisburg; ascended the Blue Mountain, "long and steep"; came to Horse Valley where he left his sulky; and thence continued on horseback, for thus he could proceed faster. In mid-August he reached Coxe's Fort, on the Ohio, and there embarked on a big flatboat; "assisted by a number of people, we went to work and constructed a machine in the form of a screw with short blades and placed it in the stern of the boat, which

we turned with a crank." In this "propeller" they proceeded to Marietta which they reached August 19th, "being very politely received by the Honorable Judges, General Putnam and friends." During his stay, he was the guest at General Putnam's "marquee." His sojourn of three weeks was a continuous round of interesting incidents. He was the guest not only of the leading citizens, but the Indian camps nearby, in which he met several of the chiefs of note, Guyasutha, Cornplanter, and others. He made close observations in all fields of study to which he was inclined. It was Dr. Cutler's first care on his return to Massachusetts to secure the services of a gospel minister for the Marietta settlement. He obtained the Rev. Daniel Story, "a tall, slender, cultivated young man," a graduate of Dartmouth, who reached his new pastorate on the Muskingum in the spring of 1789.

Chapter XXII.

SYMMES PURCHASE AND THE FRENCH COLONY

AT the date which we have now reached, western immigration progressed with accelerated speed; a stream of eastern colonists poured into the great West; as John Bach McMaster observes, in New England, "every small farmer whose barren acres were covered with mortgages, whose debts pressed heavily upon him or whose roving spirit gave him no peace, was eager to sell his homestead for what it would bring, save what he could from the general wreck and begin life anew on the banks of the Muskingum or the Ohio." The Ohio was alive with the descending flatboats and their migrating passengers. One observer notes that in April, 1787, fifty flatboats left Fort Pitt; another at Fort Finney saw thirty-four pass in thirty-nine days; and a chronicler at Fort Harmar recorded that from October, 1786, to May, 1787, one hundred and seventy-seven boats, "carrying upwards of 2,700" people passed the garrison. But in New England this increasing exodus became a serious problem; as McMaster notices, it was taking the best brain, blood and sinew from the old colonies to the new country and efforts were made to check the trans-Allegheny schemes. The inducements of their promoters were denounced in the colonial coffee houses and in the public prints, "the poor fools," it was said, "were being enticed from comfortable homes under the promise that they were going to a land of more tropical richness, to a land where they would reap without having sown and gather without having ploughed, but in truth," declared the detractors, "the climate was cold, the land sterile and sickly, and the woods full of Indians, panthers and hoop-snakes."

Penny pamphlets were issued, embellished with cartoons, intended to ridicule the western movement. But the tide ceased not to flow. In the year (1788) of its settlement, ten thousand westward movers passed Marietta, which grew apace and by 1790 it had a hundred cabins, and branch settlements were planted at Belpre on the Ohio and at Big Bottom, thirty miles up the Muskingum.

Meanwhile the Miami country, though neglected by the Ohio Company, was falling into other enterprising hands. In the spring of 1786 Major Benjamin Stites, then a resident of Redstone, on the Monongahela, embarked upon a trading trip down the Ohio, in one of the typical flatboats, "loaded with flour, whiskey and other warres." He landed at the Kentucky port, then called Limestone, (now Maysville). At the time of his arrival the section thereabouts had just been raided by a daring band of Shawnees, from across the Ohio. Stites, fond of adventure, readily accepted the leadership of a Kentucky retaliatory party, which at once started in pursuit of the marauders. After crossing the Ohio the pursuers followed the Indian trail some sixty miles, through the so-called "Miami Slaughter House," a name given the locality because it had been the scene of constant bloody encounters—many of which we have related—between the Indians and pioneers. Stites' party reached Old Town or Old Chillicothe and unable to recover the stolen property or punish the Shawnee raiders, they crossed over to the Great Miami, twenty miles farther west and followed its course back to the Ohio. This detour, fruitless as to warfare results, brought to the notice

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES

Native of Long Island (1742). Teacher and surveyor; Colonel in the American Revolution; lawyer and jurist; judge of Northwest Territory (1787). Projected the Symmes Purchase of land between the Big and Little Miamis. He died in Cincinnati, February 26, 1814.

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of Stites the value of the rich country he had traversed, every acre of which he declared was "worth a silver dollar." He resolved to form a colony, get possession of this land and settle thereon. He hastened to New York, where Congress was then in session, the story being that the hardy Stites walked the entire distance. In New York Stites met with one of the congressmen from New Jersey, John Cleves Symmes, a native of Long Island (born 1742) and in early life a teacher and surveyor, later a colonel in the Revolution, an eminent jurist, married to the daughter of Governor Livingston (New Jersey), and as previously noted, appointed (1787) one of the judges of the Northwest Territory. Symmes impressed with the reports of Stites, visited, in the summer of 1787, the Miami country, the glories of which he found had not half been told. On his return to the East, Symmes, at once organized a company of twenty-four, among whom were Benjamin Stites, General Jonathan Dayton, a member of Congress, Elias Boudinot, Dr. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton College, and others. A petition was presented, by Symmes, to Congress, August 29, 1787, on behalf of himself and associates, that the Treasury Board be authorized to make them a grant, on the same terms that had been conceded to the Ohio Company, for all the lands between the two Miami rivers, from the Ohio south to a north line, which should be a continuation of the "western termination of the northern boundary line of the grant to Messrs. Sargent and Cutler & Company." The acreage embraced was then unknown. Congress referred the matter to the Treasury Board, and without awaiting its decision, and "in

credulous reliance that the grant would be just what he had asked," Symmes proceeded to issue his celebrated circular "To the Respectable Public" giving "Terms of Sale and Settlement of Miami Lands," of which his prospectus gave glowing accounts, "and promised health, wealth and blessings too numerous to mention." Indeed before closing his proposed contract with the Government he began the sale of lands to ready purchasers and even gave title for some twenty thousand acres, located at the mouth of the Little Miami, to Benjamin Stites. Other presumptive titles were bestowed, one for a section—six hundred and forty acres—immediately opposite the mouth of the Licking River, to Mathias Denman of New Jersey. It would be tedious and unprofitable to recite the complicated negotiations of Symmes with Congress and the Treasury Board, or with the many purchasers of lands, which Symmes never secured and which the buyers had later to rebuy from the Government. Suffice it to say that Symmes secured the right to some six hundred thousand acres, and finally, in May, 1792, obtained and paid for, about three hundred thousand acres, extending along the Ohio, the entire distance between the two Miamis. Before this actual purchase, viz., in 1788-90, Israel Ludlow and John S. Gano were employed to survey the Symmes Purchase. Meanwhile projects for town settlements were developed. We mention briefly the more historic ones.

It was November 17, 1788, or within the week following, that Stites "with a strong party of friends and followers" an "adventurous troop" of a dozen

or more, landed just below the Little Miami, on a low lying plain exceedingly fertile, a portion of which was known as "Turkey Bottom," having been for years cultivated by the Indians. In a few days Stites erected theron some huts and a blockhouse and gave the town the name of Columbia, which Stites hoped would eventually become the "Queen of the West." But nature and destiny declared against him and the "city," in its own identity never advanced much beyond the plan and original settlement; its site eventually becoming merged within the present corporate limits of Cincinnati.

Meanwhile Symmes remained at Limestone, waiting for the conclusion of the treaty which the Government was then holding with the Ohio tribes at Fort Harmar. That council over, Symmes started up the river for the Denman section, but high waters, which had submerged Columbia, drove him back to the site of North Bend, in the township he had reserved for his own use and where he had already constructed a temporary habitation and which he now—latter part of January, 1789—laid out, under protection of soldiers from Fort Harmar, as a permanent settlement and by donating some of the lots to incomers, he "succeeded in starting a respectable village," which afterwards became noted as the home and burial place of William Henry Harrison, Ohio's first President, whose wife was Anna, daughter of Judge Symmes. Symmes during this colonization at North Bend received a delegation of Shawnees led by the Chief Black Beard, who, after conference with the colonizing party and after partaking of their hospitality which included

much "fire water," expressed himself as satisfied with the peaceable intentions of the pale faces of the "thirteen fires."

But the planting of the "City of Ohio," is yet to be related, though it occured prior to the settlement of North Bend. Its founders were Mathias Denman, John Filson and Robert Patterson, named in the inverse order of their importance in this work. "Mathias Denman," says Charles Theodore Greve in his complete and authoritative "History of Cincinnati" (1904), "was in no sense a pioneer, but simply a speculator in lands in the new country and a member of the Jersey (Symmes) Company; he never lived on his purchase and contributed little if anything to the life of this community; after his early visits to this neighborhood, he returned to New Jersey and so far as known remained there until the day of his death, having sold (1795) his interests in that purchase.

One of the most attractive figures in the period of which we are writing is that of John Filson. His life and personality have been set forth in a volume written by the distinguished historical student and charming author, Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, president of the Filson Club (Louisville, Ky.), which received its name from the subject in question. Filson was born, probably in 1747, and raised near Brandywine, Pennsylvania. His education was far above the usual in those times. He delved in the classics, Latin and Greek, and acquired a practical knowledge of French. He taught school before and after emigrating to Kentucky, whither he went in 1783, locating at Lexington and buying lands of Daniel Boone. In the midst of

ROBERT PATTERSON

Born, 1754. Died, 1827. One of the promoters of Transylvania University (1785), the first college in the West. One of the three founders of Cincinnati. Served in Dunmore's War and famous in subsequent pioneer events in Kentucky and Ohio. Distinguished for his services in the Indian wars. One of the first settlers at Dayton. Buried in Woodland Cemetery, Dayton, Ohio.

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R. Patterson

his backwoods life and pioneer hardship, his literary bent was unsuppressed. He wrote a history of the "Discovery and Settlement of Kentucke," described by Durrett as "a quaint little leather-bound octavo of one hundred and eighteen pages," published (1784) in Wilmington, N. J. It was accompanied by a map, "a masterly work produced more from conversations with pioneers than from the use of the compass and chain." An article in the appendix, of thirty-three pages, was devoted to "the adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone, formerly a hunter, containing a narrative of the Wars of Kentucke." It was, says Durrett, "a little fountain from which have flowed so many enchanting streams of Indian conflict and pioneer adventure in this dark and bloody ground." Filson was moreover a "verse-maker" and upon occasion would break into poetry of no mediocre quality.

The third of these city founders was Robert Patterson, who, as we learn from the felicitous pages of the volume entitled "Concerning the Forefathers," by Charlotte Reeve Conover, was a fearless pioneer and gallant soldier in the Indian wars. His daring, enterprise and patriotism propelled him through a career of remarkable experiences. A native of Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish descent, he was at the age of twenty, with Dunmore in the latter's Ohio campaign, immediately following which Patterson settled in Kentucky and made the first clearing on the site of Lexington. He appears with credit and distinction in nearly every important pioneer event of Kentucky and Ohio; a sergeant under George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign; with Bowman in the succeeding Ohio raid;

with Clark in each of his three Miami expeditions; one of the most courageous in the siege of Bryant's Station and the Battle of Blue Licks; his military talent and bravery made him captain and then colonel in the Virginia line "of the finest set of men that ever crossed the Ohio." He was one of the three petitioners to the Virginia Legislature for a charter for an advanced school to be known as the "Transylvania University" which was formally opened in 1785 and was the first regular institution of learning in the great West. Such in cursory brevity was Robert Patterson to the time in question.

Patterson and Filson had become associates and friends in their life at Fort Lexington. Both ambitious and adventurous in business opportunities, they united with Denman in the purpose of settling the Denman tract, a one-third undivided interest in which he respectively sold to Patterson and Filson. This contract of sale and triple partnership was entered into in August, 1788.

The events that followed have been recited by innumerable authors in volumes more or less exhaustive and more or less unreliable. It was on September 22, (1788) that a company from Kentucky led by Patterson and Filson landed on the site chosen. Filson began surveying the lines for the streets of "Losantiville," which singular name for the new "city" he had constructed from the initial *L*, for Licking, the Latin *os*, meaning mouth, the Greek *anti*, meaning opposite to, and the French *ville*, meaning city—the combination literally interpreted reading "the mouth opposite the city," but supposed by the law of reversion

to signify the "city opposite the mouth of the Licking." Much humor has been provoked by this specimen of polyglot nomenclature; for instance the historian McMaster cold-bloodily remarks that a few weeks after Filson had coined this name, Losantiville, the Indians scalped him. It may have been true, but not from the cause jocosely intimated, for while the surveying of the location was yet in progress, Symmes arrived from Limestone and he with Filson, Patterson, Denman and Ludlow, engaged in a surveying expedition to the region watered by the Big Miami. During their meanderings in the interior, Filson separated himself from his companions and started back alone to Losantiville. He disappeared in the woods and "was never more seen." Neither his remains nor any of his effects were ever found. His fate has remained a mystery. Although many conjectures as to the manner of his decease have been put forth, one author —Miller, in "Cincinnati's Beginnings"—gives a detailed and graphic imaginary account of the mortal blow as it was struck by an Indian assailant.

This inexplicable disappearance of Filson seems to have interrupted the proceedings at Losantiville. The Denman party returned to Limestone where a new agreement was made, to which Ludlow became a party in Filson's place. Denman returned to New Jersey, Patterson to Kentucky, leaving the new settlement in the care of Ludlow. It was December 24, (1788) that the indomitable founders of the new town again embarked in the rude keel-boat at Limestone and swept out on the Ohio, now obstructed with floating ice. On the 26th, or a day or two later, exact

date in dispute, they landed at Losantiville and constructed the first cabin with the planks of the crude boat in which they had arrived.

The following summer (1789) the survey and site was protected by a stockade, a square building of logs, one hundred and eighty feet long and formed in barracks two stories high. In November of this same year, General Harmar and three hundred soldiers were moved from Fort Harmar, which was left in charge of Major John Doughty, to the Losantiville stockade. On January 14, 1790, General Harmar wrote General Knox of his (Harmar's) arrival at Losantiville, reported the situation and said of the stockade, "this will be one of the most solid, substantial fortresses when finished, of any in the Western Territory. It is built of hewn timber, a perfect square, two stories high, with four blockhouses at the angles. * * * On account of its superior excellence I have thought proper to honor it with the name of Fort Washington." For an accurate detailed account of the origin and history of Fort Washington, the reader is referred to the little volume bearing the title of "Fort Washington," written by Robert Ralston Jones of Cincinnati and published (1902) by the Ohio Society of Colonial Wars. Shortly after its occupation by General Harmar the little town of Losantiville was chosen by Governor St. Clair to be the seat of Government for the Northwest and he re-christened it Cincinnati, in honor of the Society of the officers of the Continental Army, and in January, 1790, Governor St. Clair, who had arrived at Cincinnati,

JOHN FILSON

Born about 1747, near Brandywine, Pa. School teacher and scholar. Settled at Lexington, Ky., 1783. One of the three founders of the City of Cincinnati. Author of the first history and the first map of Kentucky. Mysteriously disappeared in the Miami country in 1788. This portrait, the only one extant, is from a miniature in a volume once owned by Filson and now in the possession of Colonel William T. Durrett of Lexington, Ky.

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there organized the new county called Hamilton, which covered the whole territory west of the Muskingum.

Though Cincinnati was to become the metropolis of the Ohio, "the Losantiville enterprise," says Mrs. Conover, "was not a fortunate move for Colonel Patterson." He lived in the fort for one month only, when he returned to his family at Lexington, retaining his proprietary interest in the Cincinnati site until November, 1794, when he sold out—to one Freeman—for two thousand pounds, Virginia money, or about eight dollars an acre. Ten years later Colonel Patterson and family moved from Kentucky to the town of Dayton on the Big Miami. This communal location also had its touch of unrealized early romance. One of the first places born of the Symmes Purchase was that for a settlement at the advantageous point—the mouth of Mad River. In June 1789, as we learn from "Early Dayton," (1896), by Robert and Mary Steele, a party comprising Benjamin Stites, John Stites Gano and William Goforth, had bargained with Symmes for the tract covering the location designated. This town, so picturesquely situated on the two rivers was to strive for greatness under the name of "Venice," and the Mad River was to be re-named the "Tiber" and thus recall the memories of the seven-hilled city. But this classic colored dream was never realized for the site was in the heart of the Indian country and not till after the Greenville Treaty (1795) did the town called Dayton spring into existence. It was located on the site of "Venice" by Generals Arthur St. Clair, James Wilkinson,

Jonathan Dayton and the surveyor Israel Ludlow, which party, despite their previous contract with Symmes for the land, that proved not to be his, were compelled to make good their title by a further conveyance to them from the Government.

The transplantation of the Anglo-Saxon colonists from New England to the banks of the Muskingum, in 1788, as already related, had a romantic and pathetic counterpart, two years later, in the Gallic settlement upon the Ohio nearly opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This western center was called Gallipolis—city of the Gauls—for its people were emigrants direct from France.

We have already noted how through coöperation with Colonel William Duer—formerly (1777-8) member of the Continental Congress, at the time in question Secretary of the Board of Treasury, and who later (1788-9) assisted Hamilton in organizing the Treasury Department—Manasseh Cutler enlarged his land purchase as first proposed for the Ohio Company. The entire tract offered for sale, in the resolution of Congress (July 27, 1787), was to be "bounded by the Ohio, from the mouth of the Scioto River to the intersection of the western boundary of the seventh range of townships now surveying; thence by the said boundary to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio; thence by a due west line to the Scioto; thence by the Scioto to the beginning." There were to be the required reservations of township lots for school and religious purposes and "the future disposition of Congress."

On October 27, (1787) Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent completed their dealings with the Government Treasury Board. Two distinct contracts were entered into. One was an absolute purchase by Cutler and Sargent "as agents of the Ohio Company of Associates," of a million and a half acres of land lying along the Ohio River, between the seventh and seventeenth ranges of townships and extending north from the Ohio until a line drawn due west from the seventh to the seventeenth range, which together with the reservations mentioned in the contract, should include the entire amount of acres required. The consideration was one million dollars in public securities; one half to be paid on signing the contract; the remainder in one month after the exterior lines of the tract had been surveyed. No title was to pass to the Ohio Company until all payments were made, though occupation of a portion previous to payment was permitted. On the same day—named above—the Board of Treasury made a second contract with Cutler and Sargent for "themselves and associates" for the sale to the latter of the remainder of the tract described in the Congressional resolution of sale. This second contract, therefore, embraced all the lands—outside of the Ohio Company purchase—lying between the Ohio and Scioto rivers and the western boundary line of the seventeenth range (not yet surveyed) of townships, extending north to the tenth township from the Ohio; also the tract of land west of the seventeenth range of townships south of the tenth township from the Ohio River, and north of the Ohio Company's purchase. The "Scioto Tract,"

destined to become historic, therefore lay between the Scioto River and the western boundary of the seventeenth range of townships. It was supposed that this western (17th range) boundary line would strike the Ohio River at a point opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Under the actual survey it fell much farther west. This led to serious complications as we shall see. The land in the second or Scioto contract was sold by Congress at the rate of two-thirds of a dollar per acre in public securities, payment to be made in six annual installments, the first falling due six months after the exterior lines of the tract had been surveyed. This second contract was really merely an "option" or "preëmption" of purchase. No money was paid down. Simultaneously with the execution of the Scioto tract contract with the Board of Treasury, Cutler and Sargent conveyed to William Duer a one-half interest in it and gave the latter full power to negotiate a sale of the lands in Europe or elsewhere. Both vendors and vendees were equally to share in the profits or losses resulting from the disposal of the lands. Following the agreement made with Duer, Cutler and Sargent transferred some three-fourths of their (one half) retained interest in the tract, in about equal proportions to Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper, Samuel H. Parsons, Richard Platt, Royal Flint and Joel Barlow. These latter purchasers then made sub-sales to various parties, many of whose names were not made public.

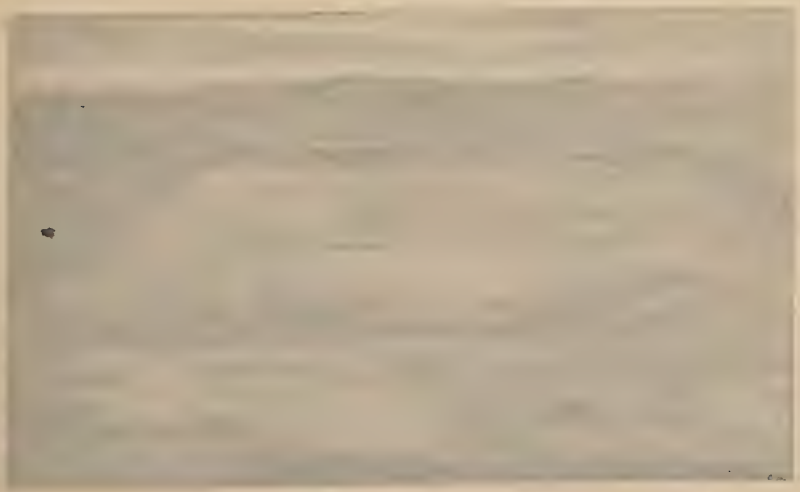
The enterprise of these gentlemen was known as the Scioto Land Company and "it is probable that

JOEL BARLOW

"Poet and patriot of the Revolution." Served under Washington in the American Revolution. Attained fame through his poetical productions. Was chosen by the Scioto Company to act as its foreign agent in Paris, when he arrived in June, 1788. His efforts in Paris met with disastrous results.

GALLIPOLIS AS FIRST BUILT

The log houses and capital square as erected in 1790 by Major John Burnham for the reception of the Gallipolis immigrants. Members of the French Five Hundred arrived at the town on October 17, 1790. It is the site of the present city of Gallipolis.



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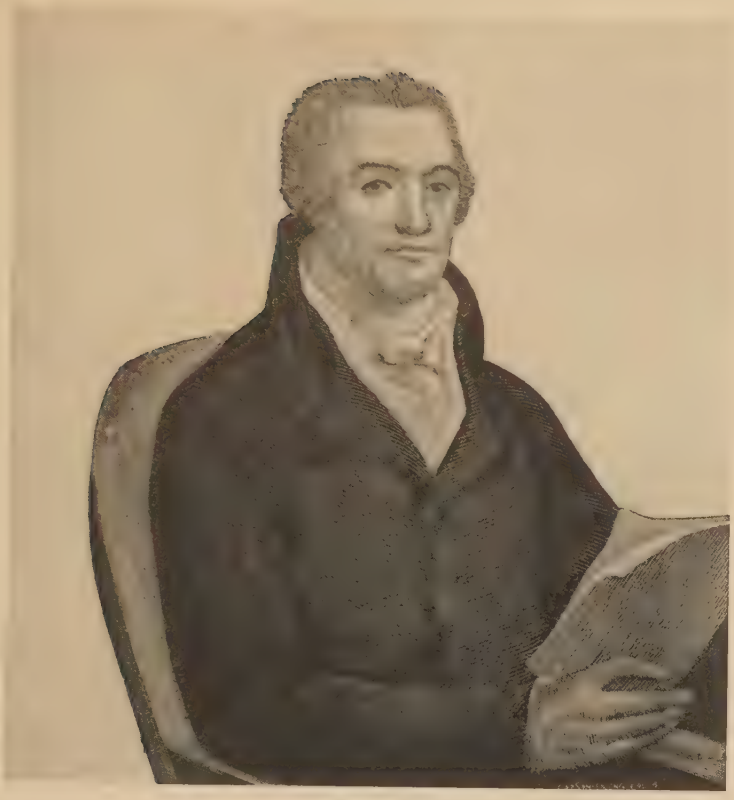

this company was not formally organized in America, but that the basis of its operations was a secret agreement among its principals," says Theodore T. Belote in his scholarly monograph (1907) on this subject, a study founded mainly upon the collection of original documents embraced in the "Gallipolis Papers" now in the possession of the Ohio Philosophical and Historical Society of Cincinnati. It was expected by these gentlemen that they could make immediate and profitable sale of these Scioto lands, or rather of their right of preëmption in the lands, in Holland and France, for in both those countries large amounts of the United States securities were held; securities then about worthless, and which it was believed the foreign holders would gladly exchange for the fertile lands in the Ohio country. As the Scioto Company could thus obtain these securities at a greatly depreciated value and pay them to the Government at par for the lands in question there appeared to be quick sales and large profits in the project.

At the suggestion of Cutler, the appointment for the foreign agency fell upon Joel Barlow, "a poet and patriot of the Revolution," who had fought under Washington and had attained literary fame, through his poetical productions, especially "The Vision of Columbus," and "he was somewhat known abroad." He is described as "a man of mediocre ability, but trustworthy." Barlow, with powers of attorney from Duer, and with letters of introduction and "a number of documents intended to impress those with whom he came in contact," arrived in Paris in June, 1788,

just as the rumblings of the approaching French revolution were beginning to reverberate through the land.

But Barlow had been given "more to do than he alone was capable of," and he proved to be unequal in shrewdness and boldness, to the stupendous undertaking. For ten months he labored only to find himself, "out his time, his trouble and five hundred pounds sterling," and no lands worth mentioning having been sold. When about to give up and return to America, Barlow "fell in with" one William Playfair, an Englishman, unscrupulous, venturesome and well versed in the customs of Paris and the French language. Barlow accepted the services of Playfair and jointly, in the summer of 1789, they organized the *Compagnie du Scioto*, of Paris. Among the members of this Company were many distinguished Parisians; Marquis Gouy D'Arsy, lieutenant-general and member of the National Assembly; Jean Francois Noel Maheas, comptroller of the royal pay office; Messieurs Louis Marthe, Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Guillaume Louis Joseph, Antoine St. Didier, prominent Paris merchants; Chevalier de Coquelin and the Messieurs Jean Antoine Chais de Soisson, the Englishman, Playfair, and the American, Barlow. We cannot go into the numerous and devious details of the subsequent proceedings. These will be found in the monograph of Belote and the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

To this *Compagnie du Scioto*, Barlow, by his power of attorney, contracted to transfer the rights of his principals to the Scioto tract, save that part directly

LAND GRANTS AND SURVEYS

Map of the chief land grant and survey divisions of early Ohio, showing the Congress Lands, Virginia Military District, Symmes Purchase, Ohio Company Lands, Seven Ranges, Western Reserve and other smaller divisions.

Map of the chief land grant and survey divisions of
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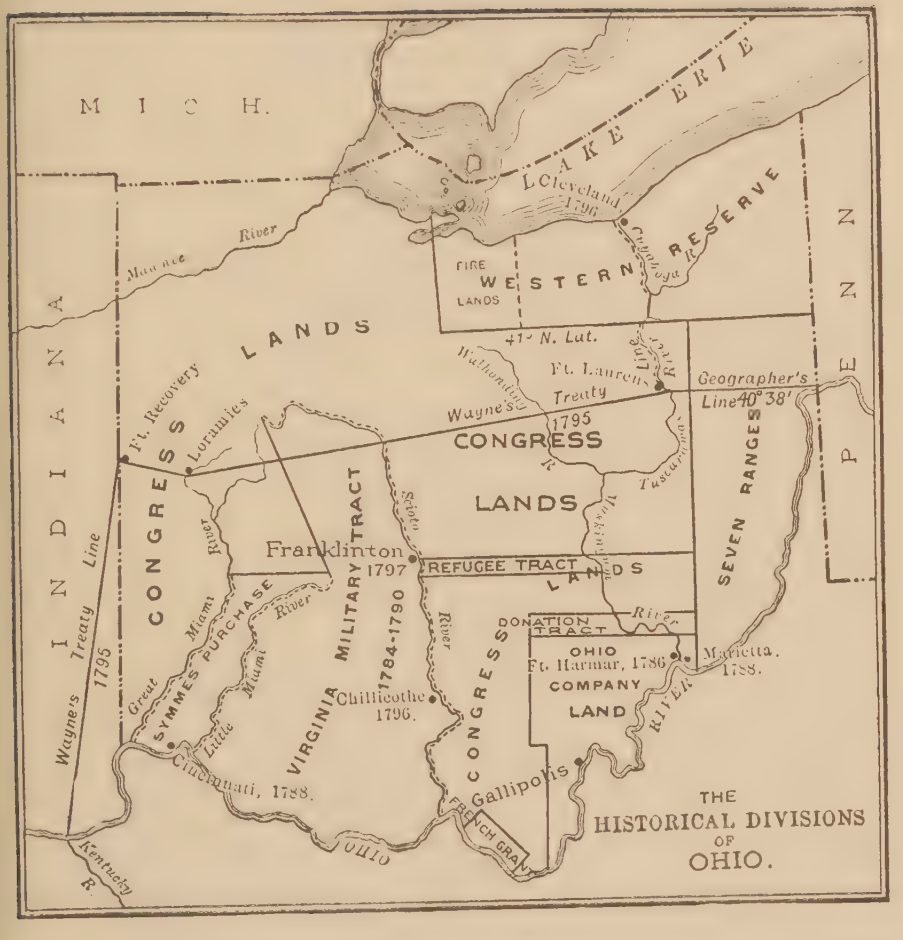

MICH.
LAKE ERIE
Cleveland 1796
Cuyahoga R.
FIRE LANDS
WESTERN RESERVE
PENN
INDIANA
Maumee River
CONGRESS LANDS
41° N. Lat.
Ft. Laurens
Walhonding R.
Wayne's Treaty 1795
Geographer's Line 40° 38'
Ft. Recovery
Loramies
CONGRESS LANDS
Tuscarawas
Wakingum
SEVEN RANGES
Scioto River
Franklinton 1797
REFUGEE TRACT
LANDS
Wayne's Treaty Line 1795
Great Miami River
SYMMES PURCHASE
Little Miami River
VIRGINIA MILITARY TRACT 1784-1790
DONATION TRACT
River
OHIO COMPANY LAND
Ft. Harmar, 1786
Marietta, 1788.
Chillicothe 1796.
CONGRESS
RIVER
Cincinnati, 1788.
Gallipolis
FRENCH GRANT
OHIO
Kentucky R.
THE HISTORICAL DIVISIONS OF OHIO.

north of the Ohio Company's purchase, unless some portion of the latter might be needed to complete the full amount of three million acres. The price was six livres tournois—one dollar and twenty cents—per acre. Payments were to be made in installments, commencing December 31, 1789, and ending April 30, 1794. In making this contract Barlow exhibited his powers of attorney, etc., thus fully apprising his French associates of his exact authority, viz, that he held power of attorney from William Duer, to which was attached a certified copy of the contract of Cutler and Sargent with the Board of Treasury and their assignment and power to William Duer. In all these papers the lands were recognized as held only by right of preëmption. Throughout this transaction therefore Barlow exercised no deception. The French Society appointed as its attorneys to sell the Scioto lands, Playfair, Barlow and Soisson, and delegated to them "powers to resell all or part of 3,000,000 acres at the best price, terms," etc. Playfair was given the office of keeping a register of control over the company's funds, which resulting from the sales were to be deposited with M. Saline, a Paris banker. Belote remarks the whole scheme of the formation of the French Company was largely a "paper proceeding." As a matter of fact the original principals remained the same and the Paris company was but a "blind to deceive the public." Duer still retained charge of the preëmption; Cutler and Sargent looked on as "silent partners"; while Barlow and Playfair planned to throw the lands upon the French market.

The French Company now proceeded to do business. A land office was opened at Paris and the 3,000,000 acres offered at a French crown per acre. Plats and maps, the latter highly colored, were exhibited, representing the country on the Ohio and the Scioto. On the plan of the tract, a town, called Gallipolis was designated nearly opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Nor was the feature of an alluring prospectus omitted. The main document holding forth, in glowing terms, the natural resources of the Scioto El Dorado, though published anonymously, was attributed to Manasseh Cutler and first printed in English in Salem, Mass., under date of 1787. The French edition was issued in Paris in 1789, under the title, *Prospectus pour l'establissment sur les rivieres d'Ohio et de Scioto en Amerique.* The fluent extravagance and unconscious humor of this advertisement merit full reproduction, but space forbids. No real estate prospectus ever surpassed it in plausible inducements. After describing the situation of the lands of the Scioto, they and the surrounding country are painted with the brush of a landscape artist; the rivers, hills, valleys and plains constitute a veritable Arcadia: "The Scioto has a gentle current, which is interrupted by no cataracts and for an extent of two hundred miles large vessels can navigate it. Some times in the spring it overflows its banks, which are covered by vast fields of rice, which nature here produces spontaneously; for the rest, we find in abundance in the country which borders upon this river, salt springs, coal mines, deposits of white and blue clay and free stone." The *prospectus* proceeds

to say that geographers, surveyors and travellers all agree that no part of the United States offers so many advantages as the Scioto Valley, "whether of salubrity, fertility or variety of productions." On the "plains" of this country "one can cultivate an acre of land per day and prepare it for the plow; there is no undergrowth on them and the trees which grow very high and become very large only need to be deprived of their bark in order to become fit for use." All kinds of timber grow abundantly; the sugar-maple "furnishes enough sugar for the use of a large number of people;" one maple will produce three ten pounds of sugar per year, "the sap flows freely and becomes crystallized after being boiled, and the sugar is equal in flavor and whiteness to the best Muscavado. On the hills and plains quantities of grapes grow wild, from which a wine may be made, preferable to the many wines of Europe." * * * "There is very little bad land in this territory and no marsh;" * * * "the labor of the agriculturist will here be rewarded by productions as useful as and more varied than in any part of America;" * * * "in all parts the soil is deep, rich, producing in abundance wheat, rye, corn, buckwheat, barley, oats, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, the tree that furnishes food for the silk worm, the grape-vine, cotton;" * * * "the tobacco is superior to that of Virginia;" * * * "the crops of wheat more abundant than in any other part of America; the ordinary crop of corn is sixty to eighty English bushels per acre;" * * * "hops are produced spontaneously in this territory and there are also the same peaches, plums, pears, melons, etc. There is no

country more abounding in game than this; the stag, fallow deer, elk, buffalo and bear fill the woods and are nourished on these great and beautiful plains; wild turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, and so forth are found in greater abundance than our domestic fowls in all the older settlements of America; hogs would be so productive here on uncultivated lands, that if a start were made with three thousand sows, the company might export thirty thousand barrels of pork the first season; the rivers are well stocked with fish of different kinds and several are of an exquisite quality; they are large, the catfish weighs from twenty to eighty pounds;" * * * "when inhabitants come here from all parts of the world, nature will have provided for them, at least for one year, all they need, without the necessity of making any purchases."

The prospectus filling many pages, quotes copiously from the accounts of travellers as to the commercial opportunities, the lumber for ship building, the products of the mines, the river facilities for shipping and travel, the accessibility of eastern sea-water ports, the river routes to the south, etc. This Scioto land was moreover to be the center of a great population and industrial enterprise; the United States Government would probably "establish itself [Capital] upon the banks of the Ohio," for "this country is at the center of the whole nation; is a place the most convenient for all, the most agreeable and probably the most healthy." Thomas Hutchins, geographer of the United States, with his signature, "certified" that the "facts" contained in this circular "concerning

the fertility of the soil, abundant productions and other advantages for the husbandman, are true and reliable, and that they correspond perfectly with the observations I have made during the years which I have spent in that country."

Amid the bloody and terrific turmoil of the French Revolution the sales of this very much "promised" land were inaugurated. It was a propitious time. The Parisians, rich and poor, eagerly sought the opportunity to flee a country torn with the dangers of an impending overthrow. New and quiet homes with rare advantages in the land where liberty, equality and fraternity were already established, beckoned them on. American land speculation became quite the rage. Volney, author of the "Ruins of Empires" and the celebrated literateur of that period, said, "nothing was talked of in every circle but the paradise that was opened for Frenchmen in the western wilderness, and the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Scioto." The offices of the Scioto Company in Paris were crowded by eager purchasers, mostly artisans of skilled vocations, totally incapacitated for the backwoods life in the American interior, who received, in return for their money, worthless documents purporting to be deeds issued by Playfair and Soisson. For neither they nor any one else—save Congress—had title in the lands to sell or transfer.

The Parisians were being treated, on a small scale, to another Mississippi scheme. Playfair was the John Law of the latest American Bubble, for he and Soisson seem to have taken charge of affairs,

they making out and signing the "deeds" and receiving the money, while Barlow remained an inactive if not silent spectator. On the last of December (1789) he wrote Colonel Duer "everything is progressing well," that he soon expected to make the first payment so that Colonel Duer could pay Congress when the first payment for the Scioto lands became due; "don't fail," he said, "to put the people in possession of their lands." By the middle of February (1790) over 100,000 acres had been sold and several hundred emigrants had started for their American homes. But the clouds began to gather and the storm was soon to break. In early spring of 1790 French furor for investments in Scioto lots suddenly subsided. The Parisians began to distrust the French Company and its schemes. Belote states "caricatures of crowds struggling frenziedly for the privilege of buying rocky deserts and imaginray acres on the Scioto began to be exhibited in the shops of Paris, and pamphlets and newspaper articles appeared denouncing the Scioto Associates as swindlers of the worst sort." Sales of land ceased and the Paris offices of the company were even threatened with assaults. No money came into Barlow's hands by which he could pay Duer and his partners so they in turn could meet their obligations to Congress. Moreover it became known that the survey of the tracts allotted respectively to the Ohio and Scioto companies would locate the western boundary of the seventeenth range some distance west of the mouth of the Great Kanawha instead of at the mouth of that river as was at first supposed. This would throw the site of Gallipolis—lots for which

Barlow had sold the Parisians—within the limits of the Ohio Company's purchase and not within the tract of the Scioto Company.

Meanwhile in order to carry out in good faith their contract with the French Company, the American Scioto Associates, agreed with Colonel Duer to form a trust to secure to each one interested his proper share of the profit and to aid Colonel Duer in managing the conduct of the sale. Royal Flint and Andrew Craigie were named as co-trustees with Colonel Duer, who was to act as "superintendent of the concerns of the proprietors," and in view of the expected French settlement at the mouth of the Kanawha and in preparation for the arrival of the emigrants, Barlow had written Duer (December, 1789) that huts must be built on the site named. The matter was placed in charge of Rufus Putnam, who as agent for the trustees of the Scioto Associates (American) employed Major John Burnham and a company of forty young men, expert woodmen, to erect said cabins. In the spring of 1790 this party reached the spot designated opposite the Kanawha mouth, but finding the land low and liable to overflow, Major Burnham moved his workmen to a point some four miles below, near the mouth of Chickamauga Creek, "where the high banks could well withstand the rising waters." Here the town was laid out and the rude buildings put up. But this was on the land of the Ohio Company, which was having troubles of its own, being unable to meet its obligation with Congress. So confusion was to become worse confounded. All the while Barlow, in Paris, was making a desperate struggle to rescue his

project from utter ruin. The *Compagnie du Scioto* was declared dissolved and a new French company was formed. Its main leaders were Francois M. J. de Barth and his father, the Count de Barth, at that time in America, Marc Anthony Coquet, Louis Phillipe Douvalette and the irrepressible William Playfair, "who was a genius for rascality." It, too, was formally known as the "Company of the Scioto," but from the name of its principals it was generally called the "De Barth-Coquet Company." To this company, Barlow made a new sale of his preëmption. This was without the acquiescence of Duer and the Scioto Associates in America, who on learning of the new deal of Barlow denounced him and sent Colonel Benjamin Walker to Paris to examine affairs and if possible untangle the complications. Walker arrived in Paris in December (1790) and upon investigation he abandoned all hope of extricating the Scioto Company from utter failure, exonerated Barlow from any intentional wrong doing, and warned the French public by advertisements not to buy lands from Playfair, who meantime had disappeared. Such was the end of the Scioto speculation in France. "Barlow," says Belote, "seems to have taken no further part in the affair after the arrival in Paris of Walker." It was a disastrous venture for many concerned. Colonel Duer failed in the spring of 1792 and was imprisoned for debt. Royal Flint, Andrew Craigie and Colonel Platt also went down in the financial depression that prevailed in the United States at that time. General Rufus Putnam was a heavy loser

in the Scioto project, the crisis of which affected, in no small degree, the credit and success of the Ohio Company.

And now we follow the fate of the French emigrants who, with worthless deeds in their pockets, and all their earthly possessions as baggage, had set sail in February, 1790, from Havre de Grace, and one or two other ports, for their western investments. They numbered in all some six hundred, and five ships had been chartered to take them to their American destination. "Behind them," says Colonel John L. Vance, in his address at the Gallipolis Centennial, "was stormy France, its peace, that was, having been swept from it, with little hope of its return in the near future; about them the stormy waves of old ocean threatening to engulf them, and thus violently end their newborn hopes. Before them—what?" This French migration was composed mainly of the upper middle class, the professions, lawyers, doctors and at least one priest, skilled artisans, artists, wood carvers and gilders, some of them "to his Majesty," coach makers, watch and clock makers, shoe and hat makers, tailors, milliners, hair dressers, wig makers, dancing masters, confectioners, valets, bartenders, shopkeepers and clerks. Almost every variety of skilled vocations was represented except those fitted for the transforming of a wilderness into the abode of civilization. Scarcely a dozen common laborers were in the number though there was one penniless and illiterate stowaway, Francis Valodin, who, however, "by adroitness and untiring industry accumulated wealth, finally becoming the richest man" of the colony. There were no out-

laws or felons among them, and the majority both women and men, "were possessed of fine education and courtly manners." The aristocracy, titled and rich was well represented by such as the Marquis Francis D'Hebecourt, the Count Marlatie, the Count de Barth, the Marquis Marnesia and members of the so-called "Company of the Twenty-Four," an association of French "gentlemen," each one of whom "agreed to purchase from the Scioto Company one thousand acres of land and to provide four laborers whom he was to employ in cultivating the land in America."

William G. Sibley in his interesting history of the "French Five Hundred" is authority for the statement that (Marquis) Francis D'Hebecourt was the military school-mate and friend of Napoleon and after their graduation, "the story runs," the two decided to found an empire in America. D'Hebecourt, as just noted, emigrated with the colonists "but Napoleon was persuaded by his family to remain in Europe." A pretty bit of historical gossip. Another item by Sibley, this one "a noteworthy fact," is to the effect that Gallipolis, at the time of its settlement, was seriously considered, at Rome, as the seat of the Roman Catholic Episcopal authority for America, outranking both Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the estimation of Pope Pius VI and his advisers, as a suitable locality for so great an ecclesiastical dignity, and the Abbe Boisnautier, a canon of St. Deny's in Paris, was actually appointed Bishop of Gallipolis, but these plans of the papal government were abandoned soon after, probably because of the collapse of the French Scioto Company.

CINCINNATI IN 1800

Sketch made from an old print, showing the settlement of Cincinnati as it appeared in the year 1800. Most of the houses at that date were made of logs or of lumber, in the latter case brought down the Ohio River.

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After from two to three months of monotonous and tempestuous tossing upon the waves of the sea, the five ships straggled, one after another, into the port of Alexandria, Virginia, the first arriving in May (1790). The troubles of the new arrivals began upon their disembarkation for there were no agents to meet them and no provisions at hand for the continuation of their journey. Their chief greeting was the rumor that their titles to the Ohio estates they were seeking, were null and void. At great expense and discomfort they were delayed for weeks at Alexandria and the mirage of that promised paradise in America began to be a dissolving view. Finally representatives of the Scioto Associates piloted them in "clumsy conveyances that jarred and jolted over the primitive roads" to Pittsburg, whence they were provided with flatboat river passage to the site of the "City of Gauls," on the high banks of that sweeping stream their countrymen had discovered centuries before and had named, because of its beauty, *La Belle Riviere.*

It was not until Sunday, October 17 (1790), more than eight months after their departure from France, that the first boat load of the French Five Hundred, scrambled ashore to their rude dwellings in the "rectangular clearing." The families were assigned cabins which they must have entered with mingled feelings of amazement and dejection. What a contrast were these poverty and hardship suggesting log structures to the social drawing rooms and literary *salons* of the brilliant and artistic Paris. The "city" that welcomed them comprised eighty log cabins, twenty in a row forming a public square, at each of the corners of which

were blockhouses two stories in height. In front of the cabins, close by the river, was a small log breastwork. Above the cabins on the square were two other parallel rows of cabins, which with high stockade fence and blockhouses at each of the upper corners formed a sufficient fortification in times of danger. The cabins were mostly a story and a half high, with puncheon slab floors, the doors were hung on wooden hinges and the chimneys were of dried clay, held in place by split timbers.

Within these primeval abodes the newcomers were to revel in that Elysian life, the prospectus of the Scioto Company had foretold, while the land adjacent was to provide almost spontaneously for their necessities as free from all effort on their part, as were the children of Israel when fed by the falling manna. Back of the clearing, dotted with its huts, was the expanse of the "lofty trees of the virgin forest, mute and impressive sentinels of unviolated creation." But as one writer notes, the French are nothing if not cheerful and gay. The first evening of their arrival was celebrated by a "French ball" a dancing place being selected for the festivities. When evening came, "rouge, curling irons, powder, patches, satin slippers" and other niceties of society attire were brought into action and by "seven o'clock," says Sibley, "the scraping of the bows inaugurated the social courtesies and gallantries for which Gallipolis has ever since been famous."

We cannot tarry in the midst of this colony with its unique mixture of grotesque and picturesque features. These people were no farmers, they were artisans at

best, all they managed to do was to cultivate their small gardens, artistically platted and flower adorned, grapes and other fruit being their chief product. For two years, especially during the winters, they depended on outside sources for their supplies, buying their pork and vegetables, such as they could not raise, from the boats descending the Ohio. The form of municipal government, as Belote notices, and protection against the Indians, gave the settlers little concern. The savages, their close neighbors, did not molest them; "it may be that the old time friendship of the Indians and French in the Northwest played its part here." This amicable relationship, however, was broken at the time of St. Clair's expedition, to which the Gallipolitans contributed many enlistments. After this the town was in constant danger of hostile attacks from the tribesmen. To meet this new peril a military company was formed of which the Marquis D'Hebecourt was made captain, and a constant patrol of the environment of the town was maintained. All this while these buoyant inhabitants were under the cloud of the worthless titles to their lands and homes. The knowledge of the failure of Colonel Duer and the Scioto Company and the fact that they were occupying territory actually owned by the Ohio Company were crushing blows to the naturally hopeful and cheerful French. Many in despair early left the town; some wandered to the eastern cities; a few settled in Kentucky; others drifted farther down the Ohio and joined the earlier French posts on the Illinois and Mississpipi. Those who remained lost heart and took but little interest in the improvement of the lands to which

they feared they would never gain valid title. For fifteen years the town of Gallipolis "changed but little in appearance, and that little, if anything, was for the worse rather than for the better."

In the autumn of 1793, M. Jean G. Gervais, one of the settlers, proceeded to Philadelphia for a conference with M. Duponceau, an eminent French lawyer. They presented a petition to Congress setting forth the distress of the French emigrants and the deception of which they had been the victims. Congress was unable to unravel the complications that had risen from the inter-transactions of the Scioto and Ohio companies, but finally in justice to the unfortunate French, in whom Washington took a deep personal interest, Congress in March, 1795, allotted to all male settlers, over eighteen years of age, and all widows who would be in Gallipolis on November 1 (1795), twenty-four thousand acres of land in what is now Green Township, Scioto County. It was termed the "French Grant," and extended eight miles along the Ohio River. By mutual agreement, four thousand acres of this were apportioned to Gervais for his services in the matter. The remaining twenty thousand acres were divided equally among ninety-two qualified distributees; each therefore received two hundred and seventeen and two-fifths acres. Lots were drawn for the location of the respective portions. Eight additional members having been overlooked in the first grant, another allotment of twelve hundred acres was assigned them, making one hundred petitioners in all provided for. Not more than sixteen of the original settlers moved on to their indemnity sections.

The others sold their portions to settlers from the eastern states at nominal prices, and, says Belote, the French Grant became, in fact, "a Yankee settlement." The site of Gallipolis still belonged to the Ohio Company, which in December, 1795, held a meeting, at Marietta, to make final adjustment of its affairs. A delegation of the French from Gallipolis attended this meeting and requested that the site of their town be given them by the Ohio Company, the petitioners pleading that it was the fault primarily of the Ohio Company that the town had been mislocated. The Ohio Company refused the petition but consented to sell the French the lots, within and adjacent to Gallipolis, at the nominal price of a dollar and a quarter per acre. Thus the French emigrants were given the "pleasant privilege of buying their lands twice." And here the curtain falls upon the comico-tragic drama of the French settlement at Gallipolis.

Chapter XXIII.

THE POST-REVOLUTION CAMPAIGNS

FROM the events, just recited, of the peaceful planting of promising settlements we turn now to the sequential circumstances of inglorious war. This influx of white settlers and the creation of colonial centers pleased not the tribesmen who with unerring intuition realized that the encroaching tide of civilization meant displacement if not the doom of their people. The settlers north of the Ohio lived in constant fear under the protection of less than six hundred regular troops stationed in the Ohio River stockades. Ten times that many savage warriors dwelt in the valleys of the Wabash, the Miamis, the upper Sandusky and Scioto regions. The aggressions to which the frontiersmen were subject was evidence that the Indians were reluctantly, if at all, becoming reconciled to the sovereignty of the United States. They paid scant adherence to the treaties that presumptively safeguarded the settlers in the section of Ohio ceded by the Indians to the government. Hostile menaces and bloody outbreaks were not infrequent particularly on the river frontier below Cincinnati; as one writer puts it, "the Indians watched the Ohio with especial care, and took their toll from immense numbers of immigrants who went down it." No boat was safe after passing the Muskingum. The interior Indians in the valleys just named, and in the lake region, were in a state of discontent, if not positive enmity. In all this they not only enjoyed the sympathy but secured the material aid of the British who still retained possession of the lake posts. The third article of the Ordinance of 1787 stipulated that "the utmost good faith shall

always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent," etc. But the tribesmen took the ground that no treaty could bind them that did not include the consent of all tribes interested therein. Their territorial rights were communal, and no number of tribes less than all, could contract for the nations. In this matter the Ohio tribes eagerly consulted the Six Nations and in the summer of 1788 a large delegation of the latter, in councils at Detroit, met the tribesmen of the Ohio, the lakes and some even from the Upper Mississippi. In the Detroit gathering the most distinguished figure was Chief Joseph Brant then holding a commission and drawing a pension from the British government. Previous to this council Brant revealed his attitude of mind in a letter written from his home on the Grand River to Lieutenant Langan of the British army, saying, "as for the Five Nations, most of them have sold themselves to the Devil—I mean the Yankeys. Whatever they do after this it must be for the Yankeys—not for the Indians or the English." After the Detroit council he again wrote Langan stating that the Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattomies and Delawares were inclined "to lenient steps and having a boundary line fixed; and rather than enter headlong into a destructive war, will give up a small part of their country; on the other hand, the Shawnees, Miamis and Kickapoos, who are now so much addicted to horse-stealing, that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will of course declare for war and not giving up any

part of their country, which I am afraid, will be the means of our separating." The council seems to have adjourned without definite determination.

The unrestful demonstrations of the tribes at these councils as well as hostile acts on the river frontier led General St. Clair, with the approbation of the government, to call a council of all the tribes at Fort Harmar, for the autumn of 1788. Some two hundred delegates of the tribes, that had accepted the invitation, began to gather in the wintry days of December, but it was not until January 9, 1789, that they concluded a treaty, the negotiations for which St. Clair wrote "were tedious and troublesome." The diary of Major Ebenezer Denny, then at Fort Harmar, published in the St. Clair Papers, gives a summary of the council proceedings. Denny states the old Wyandot chief Shandotto, addressed the governor (St. Clair) in behalf of all the nations present. He told how the Thirteen Fires had gotten possession of their country and how in that accomplishment the whitemen had cheated the redmen; the Indians he said were for peace, which was doubtless true of the Wyandots. Two separate treaties were entered into; one with the Five Nations—neither Brant nor the Mohawks being present—confirming the Fort Stanwix Treaty (1784). It was signed by twenty-five chiefs among them Cornplanter. Nearly each one wrote "his mark" to his Indian name and its English equivalent; there were Long Tree, Big Tree, Broken Twig and Wood Bug, Falling Mountain, Dancing Feather, Thrown-in-the-Water, Big Bale of a Kettle, Full Moon, the Blast and Tearing Asunder.

The other treaty confirmed the boundaries of the Treaty of Fort McIntosh (1785), viz., that the Indians keep the country south of Lake Erie, from the Cuyahoga to the Miami, and extending south to about the fortieth degree of north latitude; it was also agreed that the Indians were at liberty to hunt in the territory ceded the United States; traders, with a license, might ply their vocations among the tribes; all Indians committing robbery or murder were to be delivered up to be tried at American posts; all citizens of the United States settling on lands reserved to the tribes shall be out of the protection of the United States and may be punished by the tribesmen; certain sections of land, either six or twelve square miles, surrounding the posts claimed by the government, should be reserved to the United States. This treaty was signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies and Sacs. Among the names of the chiefs who made their "marks" were Captain Pipe and Wingenund for the Delawares and Tarhe for the Wyandots. The Shawnees, the Miamis, and many of the western and northwestern tribes were not present and remained uncommitted to this treaty. Indeed while the Fort Harmar council was in session, members of the tribes, just mentioned, were committing acts of depredation and even murder among the frontiersmen.

Although St. Clair apparently accomplished an important result in the Fort Harmar Treaty and the Indians participating had been paid many thousands of dollars for their acquiescence, they had little regard for the document they had signed. In this proceeding

General St. Clair had not recognized the Indians as one nation, but rather as separate tribes having distinct interests; "jealousy subsisted between them," he said in a letter to Washington, "which I was not willing to lessen by appearing to consider them as one people—they do not so consider themselves; and I am persuaded their general confederacy is entirely broken; indeed it would not be very difficult, if circumstances require it, to set them at deadly variance." Shortly after the council, St. Clair visited New York, when on April 30, 1789, he witnessed the inauguration of his old commander-in-chief, and devoted friend, as first president; indeed he stood near the side of Washington while the latter took the oath of office, "clad in a full suit of dark-brown cloth, with a steel hilted sword, white stockings and plain silver shoe-buckles, his hair dressed and powdered in the fashion of the day and worn in a bag and solitaire."

It was on January 22, 1790, that Governor St. Clair arrived at Fort Washington, as before noted, where he remained only a week, hastening on to the French towns on the lower Ohio. At the Rapids, he prepared messages to the Indian tribes on the Wabash, which documents he transmitted to Major John Francis Hamtramck, then commandant at Post Vincennes, who in turn forwarded them to their destination by Antoine Gamelin, a popular trader among the Indians. Gamelin, who kept an interesting journal, of his embassy, published in the St. Clair Papers, was six weeks on this errand, holding audiences with the Miamis, Piankeshaws, Kickapoos, Ouiatanons, Delawares, Pottawattomies, Weas and Shawnees. He

was courteously but cautiously received, respectfully listened to, but in the main evasively answered. The first chief and all the great warriors of the Piankeshaws were well pleased with the messages advocating peace, but could not give answer before consulting their elder brethren, the Miamis; the chief of the Kickapoos also referred the messenger to the Miamis; "you invite us to stop our young men," he said, "it is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British;" Le Gris, great chief of the Miamis, said, "don't take bad, of what I am to tell you, we cannot give you a positive answer, we must send your speeches to all our neighbors and to the Lake nations, we cannot give a definite answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit." Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawnees, received Gamelin with all possible hospitality at his home at Miamitown—headwaters of the Maumee—and "in a private manner" told his guest that the Shawnees "were in doubt of the sincerity of the Big-Knives, having clearly been deceived by them; a certain proof that they intend to encroach upon our lands is their new settlements on the Ohio." The chief of the Weas reported "that the English commandant is their father, since he threw down our French father; they could do nothing without his approbation." The chief of the Kickapoos declared, "we cannot stop our young men from going to war; every day some set off clandestinely for that purpose."

The report of Gamelin, made to Hamtramck, throws a flood of light upon the Indian situation in the Wabash and Miami countries; revealing the hostile temper of the tribesmen towards the Americans and

their feudatory relation to the British, whose commandant at Detroit they recognized as "Father." Moreover they repudiated the Fort Harmar treaty, declaring that it was signed by only a few tribes and then merely by "young men" who were neither chiefs nor delegates and were without authority of any kind from their respective nations.

That war could not be avoided, St. Clair was now convinced and he hastened his return from Kaskaskia to Fort Washington to confer with General Harmar. Meanwhile the latter had in April (1790), with a command of one hundred regular troops supported by General Charles Scott, "a rough Indian fighter and a veteran of the Revolutionary War" at the head of two hundred and thirty Kentucky volunteers, made a dash by a circuitous route to the Upper Scioto, in the neighborhood of Paint Creek, and thence down the Scioto to its mouth, in order to chastise some of the hostile bands. But "the villains had retreated" and "wolves might as well have been pursued," was Harmar's summary of the fruitless raid, the rumors of which only aroused the Ohio tribes to feelings of greater hostility. Almost simultaneous with the Harmar and Scott raids, Hamtramck with a small company of regulars rushed forth from Fort Knox, at St. Vincennes, to the Wea villages on the Wabash. But the villagers had fled leaving their huts and stores of corn to be burned by the unresisted enemy.

Preparations for warfare on a larger scale were now pushed forward. Congress in the summer empowered Washington to call out the Militia of Kentucky, Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, which troops were

to rendezvous by September 15th at Fort Washington. The United States government recognizing the co-operative alliance—tacit if not open—both offensive and defensive, between the Indians and the British, was solicitous as to the attitude the latter might assume relative to the impending campaign. The British officials made no effort to conceal their insinuating suspicion that the ulterior design of the Americans was to secure Detroit, and the other lake posts, still retained by His Majesty. Indeed an inspection of the posts was being made by the Canadian officials with the view of their being strengthened for anticipated defense and the Detroit stockade was in fact repaired and improved. To allay this sympton of war spirit, pretended or real, exhibited by the Canadian British and to prevent their open and active allegiance to the tribesmen, St. Clair, under instructions from Washington, wrote Major Murray, commanding the British garrison at Detroit to "inform you, explicitly that the expedition about to be undertaken is not intended against the post you have the honor to command, nor any other place at present in the possession of the troops of his Britannic Majesty, but is on foot with the sole design of humbling and chastizing some of the savage tribes, whose depredations have become intolerable and whose cruelties have of late become an outrage, not only on the people of America, but on humanity."

The troops as they assembled at Fort Washington mostly presented a motley and misgiving appearance. The Kentucky contingent, three battalions with Colonel Trotter at their head, said Denny, "were not such as we had been accustomed to see on the frontier; they

GENERAL JOSIAH HARMAR

Born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1753. Served in the American Revolution. Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the United States Infantry Regiment, August, 1784; superseded by St. Clair in 1791. Under his command Fort Washington was built (1789). He commanded the American forces in the Indian campaign of 1790. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., 1813.

FORT WASHINGTON

Built under command of General Harmar, 1789. It was demolished in 1808. Its site in the City of Cincinnati is now marked by a monument on Third Street near the intersection of Ludlow Street. This picture is from a sketch made in 1791 by Major Jonathan Heart, U. S. A.

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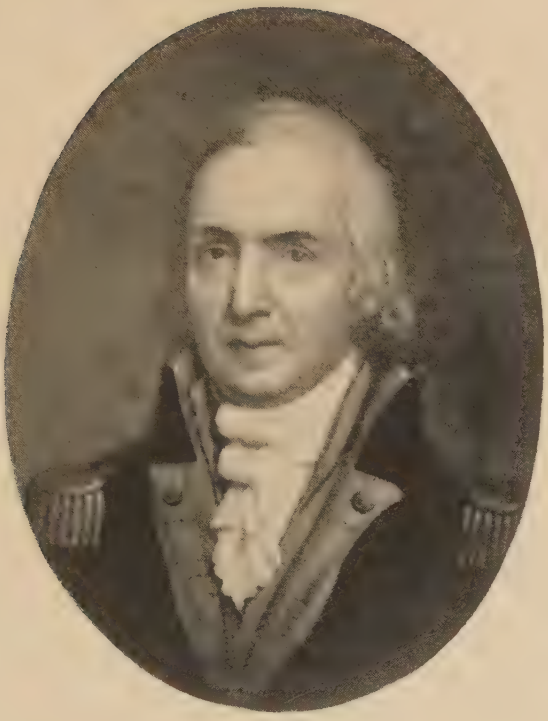

appeared to be raw and unused to the gun of the woods; indeed many are without guns and many of these they have want repairing." They were poorly clad and almost destitute of kettles and axes, and camp utensils. The Pennsylvania enrollments were little better in character; many of the home militia having sent substitutes of old infirm men and young boys; they were untrained and inclined to be disorderly and even mutinous; they formed a battalion under Major Paul and Lieutenant Colonel Truby. There was one battalion of mounted militia, under Major James Fontaine, and two small battalions, numbering three hundred and twenty, of federal regulars under Majors John P. Wyllys and John Doughty. A company of artillery, with three pieces of ordnance, was under the command of Captain William Ferguson. In all, the army numbered fourteen hundred and fifty-three men, under Josiah Harmar, who, since 1784, had been Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the United States Infantry Regiment, the highest ranking officer in the American army. The general was seriously handicapped at the outset through the jealousy existing between the "regulars" and the militia. Moreover there was much strife among the militia concerning the choice of their commander, Colonels John Hardin and Robert Trotter being rivals for the preference, the latter being finally selected. The commissary arrangements were inadequate and badly organized. Under such conditions the expedition was destined to failure from the outset.

An advance detachment of the militia moved forth from the fort on September 26th, followed a few days

later by the regulars. We briefly summarize the march from the journals of General Harmar and officers Ebenezer Denny and John Armstrong. On October 3d an encampment was made "on the waters of the Little Miami," 31 miles and on the 4th they struck a stream Harmar calls Caesar's Creek, a branch of the Little Miami, forty-two miles from Fort Washington; on the fifth they reached Glade Creek, "a very lively clear stream," fifty-two miles; on the sixth, after passing a beautiful open country, encamped three miles north of Old Chillicothe, sixty-two miles; seventh, encamped on Mad River, "alias the Pickaway Fork of the Great Miami, 71 miles; on the tenth they crossed to the Great Miami, the course of which was then followed, passing on the eleventh a place called "The French Store," one hundred and twelve miles; twelfth passed New Chillicothe, at which is Girty's home, on Glaze Greek or branch of the Omee (Maumee), one hundred and twenty-five miles; sixteenth, the Colonel Hardin, who had been sent forward, reached the "favorite Miami-village and towns" which the savages and traders had evacuated. This village was at the juncture of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's rivers, one hundred and seventy miles from Fort Washington. On the following day the main army joined the advance at this point. The chief Indian village contained "about 80 houses and wigwams, and a vast quantity of corn and vegetables hid in various places, holes, etc." Other nearby towns comprised a hundred or more wigwams with gardens and adjacent fields of corn. The towns, deserted by the Indians, were destroyed by the soldiers, the

militia loading itself with plunder. On the 19th a party of the militia and regulars under Colonel Trotter proceeded to reconnoitre the country, when they came upon two Indians whom they killed. The colonel being "content with this victory" returned to camp much to the disgust of Colonel Hardin, who under orders from General Harmar marched out the next morning and when about ten miles from the camp was met, says Denny, by a party of Indians "not exceeding one hundred, but was worsted, owing entirely as I am informed, to the scandalous behavior of the militia, many of whom never fired a shot, but ran off at the first noise of the Indians and left a few regulars to be sacrificed,—some of them never halted until they crossed the Ohio." On the day following, the army, having "burned five villages besides the capital town and consumed and destroyed near twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears, took up the line of march on the route back to Fort Washington."

But the disastrous result was not yet complete. The disheartened and demoralized army halted a few miles from the site of the Maumee "capital," at the Shawnee town of Chillicothe—not Old Town, but some Indian village called Chillicothe, the usual name given a town by the Shawnees—about which lurked many savages thirsting for revenge. The humiliated Harmar resolved upon an attempt to retrieve the disgrace of Trotter's discomfiture. Major Wyllys of the regulars and Colonel Hardin, with "four hundred choice militia and regulars," were ordered to return to the scene of the former repulse

and "surprise any parties that might be assembled there." Harmar's journal for that day (22) reads: "Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin performed wonders, although they were terribly cut up; almost the whole of the Federal troops were cut off, with the loss of Major Wyllys, Major Fontaine and Lieutenant Frothingham—which indeed is a heavy blow. The consolation is that the men sold themselves very dear. It is supposed that not less than one hundred warriors of the savages were killed upon the ground."

It was a disorganized attack, the militia heedless of commands pressed forward in disorder to be overwhelmed by the ambuscading savages, while the column of regulars which hastened to the rescue met a similar fate. It was indeed a sorry effort to redeem the previous lost honors of war, for to the disgrace of Trotter was added the defeat of Hardin. Harmar's expedition had come to a "lame and impotent conclusion" the loss being nearly two hundred killed and some thirty-five wounded.

As noted by Jones in his "Fort Washington," an extract from a letter written by Captain Jonathan Heart from Fort Harmar, December 3, 1790, shows how stubborn was the fighting in this engagement of October 22d. He says: "A regular soldier on the retreat near the St. Joseph River, being surrounded and in the midst of the Indians, put his bayonet through six Indians, knocked down the seventh, and the soldier himself made the eighth dead man in the heap." An early writer who secured his information from those who actually took part in the Harmar campaign, says in regard to the second engagement: "Nothing could

exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion; the militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns, and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers; a number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head."

The Indians in this encounter were led and directed by the distinguished Miami chief Little Turtle—Michikinikwa—who will figure largely in subsequent pages. He was born at his village on the Eel River, in 1752, his father being a Miami chief and his mother a Mohican. In one of the Kentucky expeditions Little Turtle captured a boy then about eleven years of age, named William Wells belonging to a good Kentucky family. The chief adopted the youngster who as he grew up won the esteem and affection of Little Turtle and wife, and in time William married Little Turtle's beautiful daughter, whose Indian name was Waumaugapith, the interpretation of which is Sweet Breeze. Wells rendered valuable service to Little Turtle and his Indian subjects in the signal repulse of Harmar's troops. Descendants of William Wells and his Miami wife are living to-day at Maumee City and have regaled the present writer with interesting traditions of the famous Miami chief.

For the dejected survivors it was a dreary march back to Fort Washington, reached November 3d; but the retreat was in keeping with the tumultous conflicts they had experienced; the militia became nearly ungovernable, so that at one time Harmar

reduced them to order only by threatening to fire on them with the artillery. The outcome of this martial miscarriage was a severe blow to General Harmar; in fact it was his official undoing, though without real fault on his part. He was accused of incompetency and even insobriety during the campaign, and whatever the merits or demerits of his behavior may have been, in the spring of 1791, he was, by the president, superseded as commander of the army, General St. Clair being appointed in his place while Colonel Richard Butler was made a major-general and second in command.

General Harmar, smarting under what he regarded, and rightly, as unjust criticism upon his conduct, demanded a Court of Inquiry which was granted and which met September 15, 1791, at Fort Washington. The findings of the court, proceedings of which are reported in the State Papers, relating to Military Affairs, were highly exonerative and honorable to General Harmar. The expedition was from the start, a hopeless failure, because of the inexperience, inefficiency and insubordination of the soldiers, their incomplete equipment and lack of commissary supplies. General Harmar after his exoneration, resigned from the army and returned to his home in Philadelphia, serving for six years as adjutant-general of Pennsylvania.

The year 1791 was ushered in with a bloody beginning for the Muskingum settlers, for it was on January 2d that the uncompleted blockhouse and one or two adjacent cabins, located on the banks of the Muskingum some thirty miles from Marietta and known as the

Big Bottom settlement, were attacked without warning by a war-party of twenty-five Delawares and Wyandots. The settlement was an off-shoot from Marietta and numbered some thirty-six souls. The harrowing particulars of the massacre are portrayed with graphic reality by Hildreth in his "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley." Eleven men, one woman and two children, were tomahawked or shot down with merciless barbarity. The blockhouse was then plundered, the log strips of the floor were torn up, piled in a heap and fired that the structure and the dead bodies of the massacred might be consumed in the flames that lit up the dark forest on that cold midwinter night. Two brothers, Asa and Eleazer Bullard, made a miraculous escape. The others were made captives and borne off by the savage assailants. Similar deeds of scarcely less cruelty were perpetrated in other localities, evidencing that the defeat of Harmar had stirred the warriors to renewed courage and boldness and ferocity.

The frontiersmen appealed for protection to Congress, which was sorely perplexed by the acute situation; acute as to the Indians and delicate as to the attitude of the British, the shadow of whose patronage lay over the movements of the tribesmen. It is not the province of this narrative to trace the diplomatic difficulties that beset the government at this date. Justin Winsor, in his "Westward Movement," says Lord Dorchester, formerly known as Guy Carleton but now elevated to the peerage, Governor-General of Canada, when he reached Quebec, in October 1786, was under "instructions to prevent, if possible, the Indians

bringing on a war with the Americans," yet James Schouler, in his "United States History," speaks of Dorchester, as one "by whose instigation the Northwestern Indians at this period [1791] were studiously kept at enmity with the United States." The American government as the State Papers prove had endeavored earnestly to bring the Ohio Indians into peaceful and friendly relations. Their efforts were unavailing. The subjugation of the tribesmen, possibly their expulsion from the Ohio country, was unavoidable for the safety of the western settlers. How to prosecute this war without incurring the active hostility of the British was the problem. The wily go-between in the international sparring was Chief Joseph Brant, at that time, undoubtedly the most influential warrior of his people. Great Britain and the United States eagerly competed for the friendship and services of the great Mohawk, who midst it all moved mysteriously among the Six Nations, the Ohio tribes and the Canadian authorities. Without doubt he secretly hoped and intrigued for a new western Indian confederacy, with British support hostile to the Americans. Simon Girty likewise temporarily left his abiding-place on the Canadian side of the Detroit River and mingled with the Ohio tribes, brooding mischief among the warriors, by instigating them against the Americans.

But Washington undeceived and undaunted, decided there should be made without delay, martial incursions into the enemy's country, preliminary to an invasion of overwhelming magnitude. In May, General Charles Scott, accompanied by Colonel James Wilkinson, with a force of eight hundred mounted

men, left the Ohio at the mouth of the Kentucky and rapidly advanced to the Wea villages on the Wabash. Their tribal center, Ouiatenon,—Ouia was the French for Wea—and other towns in the vicinity were destroyed, the surrounding country laid waste and many Indians killed and captured. Two months later (July) General Wilkinson commanding five hundred and fifty mounted Kentuckians speedily proceeded from near Fort Washintgon to the Indian village Kenapacomaqua—L'Anguille, French for eel—on the Eel River. The Indian inmates attempted flight by the river and five canoes were seized and all the savages with whom the boats were crowded were taken and killed. The town and other villages of the Miamis and Kickapoos were wiped out, hundreds of acres of corn, "chiefly in the milk" laid waste and considerable numbers of prisoners captured, among them "the sons and sisters of the king" of the Kickapoos. This expedition was conducted "with such celerity and signal success" as to draw forth a letter of thanks to Wilkinson from Gendral Knox, secretary of war.

The sudden blows struck by Scott and Wilkinson served only to further exasperate the Ohio tribesmen, who now entered upon extensive plans in defense of their country and resistance to the threatened approach of St. Clair. Under the leadership of Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawnees, and the noble head warrior of the Delawares, Buckongahelas, a war alliance was formed of their respective tribes. In this the chiefs had the aid not only of Simon Girty but of Alexander McKee and Mathew Elliott of the British Indian department,

which began at once to forward supplies and munitions of war to the Miami towns for the use of the tribes in their impending campaign.

Meanwhile General St. Clair, under directions from Washington, was pushing forward preparations for his invasion which was intended to be irresistible, three thousand men being designated as the enrollment required. The objective point was to be the Miami towns at the head of the Maumee, the wigwams of which had been destroyed by Harmar, a habitable location, which had been the seat of the powerful Miami nation from time immemorial, often made desolate and as often rehabitated—a tribal site called by Little Turtle, "that glorious gate through which all good words of our chiefs had to pass from the north to the south and from the east to the west." A chain of forts, which were to be some twenty-five miles apart, was to be erected from the Ohio to the Lakes. Elaborate and specific instructions as to the expedition, its route, manner of march and encampment, discipline, and precautionary measures were outlined by the president. Special levies, militia and regulars were to constitute the army which slowly began to assemble at Fort Washington.

It was September 17th (1791) that the main portion of the two thousand three hundred "effectives"—as they were called with seeming irony—moved forward twenty-five miles from Cincinnati to the Great Miami, where the advance detachment had already erected Fort Hamilton, a stockade fifty yards square with four good bastions and platforms for cannon and with barracks for about two hundred men. This army

though larger in numbers was little better in condition than that of Harmar, in the previous campaign. Washington Irving says these levies were picked up and recruited from the off-scourings of large towns and cities, enervated by idleness, debauchery, and every species of vice. The "effectives" were certainly a disreputable lot, dissipated and disorderly; the equipment was poor and inadequate; the tents and clothing nearly worthless; food for the men and fodder for the horses were deficient in both quality and quantity; desertions from the start, often in squads, were appalling in number. St. Clair, the commander, a brave, high-minded man, versed in the art of scientific warfare, but inexperienced in Indian combat, was broken in health, hardly able to sit upon his horse and really unfit for the hardships and duties that lay before him. General Butler was also in ill health and the main burden of responsibility fell upon Adjutant General Winthrop Sargent.

But there was no turning back and the forces, united at Fort Hamilton, slowly trudged forward, cutting roadways through the woods, building bridges over the streams and wearily tramping across the boggy plains, making but five or six miles a day. On October 12th, they had left Fort Hamilton forty-four miles behind and stopped, six miles south of Greenville, to build another stockade, they named Fort Jefferson. Here they remained twelve days. On November 3d, the foot-sore and bedraggled army, now reduced to a total of about fourteen hundred men, encamped on the eastern fork of the Wabash, upon an elevated timber-covered ground, with the creek in front and on the

right, and a ravine on the left. Here were stationed the artillery and regulars. In front across the low, fordable stream the militia bivouacked, "while all around the wintry woods lay in frozen silence." It was the night before the battle, for at sunrise of the 4th, just as the soldiers were preparing breakfast the Indian horde, whose presence was unknown and unsuspected, suddenly plunged from their hidden ambush and with savage yells opened fire on the militia, who rushed pellmell into the center of the camp of the regulars amid whom they spread dismay and confusion. It was the repetition of Braddock's entrapment. The story of the desperate and gory conflict has been told again and again from the official reports and the diaries of participants, the last and perhaps best war picture being that by the pen of Roosevelt.

There was no time nor room for the terror-benumbed soldiers to form or respond to the onslaught of the "woodland warriors," who soon completely encircled the American camp, and Indian fashion, protected by logs, trees and brush, crowded closer and closer, as they poured their shots into the crowded and disordered soldiers, huddled like sheep on the elevated ground. The officers, amid this "wall of flame" strove bravely to rally and form the troops, who discharged their rifles in an aimless manner for the enemy was mostly hidden from sight. The artillerymen were soon picked off and the cannon silenced. The men fell in great numbers in all parts of the camp, confusion increased, the Indians boldly swarmed forward to shoot at close range and even dash into the American ranks and engage in close encounter.

St. Clair, so weak he had to be lifted upon his horse, had three mounts shot from under him; eight bullets pierced his clothing and one clipped his grey hair. General Richard Butler, second in command, was twice hit and fell mortally wounded, and lay according to the account of Stone, in the "Life of Brant," upon the field, writhing in agony, when Simon Girty, who played a conspicuous part in the battle, being in command of the Wyandots, passed the general who knew the renegade and requested him to put an end to his misery; this the traitor refused to do but one of his warriors sprang forward and planted his tomahawk in the head of the dying officer, and thus terminated his sufferings; "his scalp was instantly torn from his crown, his heart taken out and divided into as many pieces as there were tribes engaged in the battle." Butterfield in his "History of the Girtys" regards this account as "trustworthy" but Roosevelt insists that after Butler received his mortal wound, "there is no further certain record of his fate except that he was slain." Certain it is that many such incidents added bloody coloring to the dreadful scene of the battle, and "no words can paint the hopelessness and horror of such a struggle as that in which they were engaged."

The conflict continued nearly three hours until the survivors, comprising the remnant of the army became too stupefied and bewildered for further action of any kind. That all might not be sacrificed, St. Clair ordered a retreat. Such of the wounded as could be moved were hastily gathered together, a last charge, by the remaining combatants, was made against the enemy, that an opening through their lines might be made

enabling the fleeing force to escape. The flight was successful. The Indian warriors at first attempted pursuit but returned to secure the rich booty left upon the field. As the diary of Major Ebenezer Denny —a brave participant in the battle—recounts, it was a disgraceful flight even to the very gates of Fort Jefferson. The road for miles was covered with firelocks, cartridge-boxes and regimentals. Stragglers for hours continued to stumble into the fort. The killed and missing numbered thirty-seven officers, one major-general (Butler), one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, twelve captains, ten lieutenants, eight ensigns, two quartermasters, one adjutant, and one surgeon; and five hundred and ninety-three privates; the wounded, thirty-three officers and two hundred and fifty privates. A total disability of over nine hundred men, two-thirds the entire force engaged. It was a far greater loss than that incurred by Washington in any battle of the Revolution, surpassing by hundreds his most disastrous defeat at Germantown. The artillery and all supplies, including clothing, two hundred tents, three hundred horses, one hundred and thirty beef cattle, and food in wagons with muskets and other equipments, all valued at $33,000, or more, were left to be gathered by the highly elated savages and borne to their lodges as plunder of war. The loss of the Indians was supposed to be about one hundred and fifty. As the contest was one for territorial possessions, the Indians, in their mutilations of the dead, practised, says Stone, a bitter sarcasm upon the rapacity of the white men, by filling their mouths with the soil they had marched forth to conquer.

Indeed the later disclosures, upon the scene of action, of the Indian brutalities, are almost too inhuman to be recorded. In January (1792) following St. Clair's disaster, General James Wilkinson was ordered to visit, with a sufficient force, the site of the late battle, examine the conditions prevailing and make such disposal, as might be possible, of the dead. From the letter of Captain Buntin, one of Wilkinson's officers, to St. Clair, we take the following passage, as quoted in the "Annals of the West" (1846) by James H. Perkins: "In my opinion, those unfortunate men who fell in the enemy's hands, with life, were used with the greatest torture—having their limbs torn off; and the women [many accompanied the army] have been treated with the utmost indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm drove through their bodies. * * * By the General's orders, pits were dug in different places and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view, or could be conveniently found, the snow being very deep, were buried."

The actual number of Indians engaged in this victory, for them, is not recorded. Simon Girty is said to have told a prisoner (William May), that there were twelve hundred in the attack, among them, it is known, were many Canadians and half breeds. Little Turtle was the acknowledged chief in command, aided by Blue Jacket, Buckongahelas, and other chiefs, among whom at the head of one hundred and fifty Mohawks, was the famous Brant, according to statements subsequently made by the chief's descendants to Stone, his biographer. There must also have been found in the Indian ranks, of that attack, a young warrior, now

in the beginning of his career and destined to be the greatest hero of the Ohio tribes, Tecumseh, the Shawnee. Upon their learning of the proposed St. Clair campaign, the chiefs selected Tecumseh to act as the head of a small party of spies, to watch the movements of the American army and make report to the Indian headquarters. Most faithfully did Tecumseh perform the duty assigned him. All unbeknown to St. Clair, every mile of his progress, was heralded to the chiefs, planning for the opportune moment to strike the advancing foe. Tecumseh will merit greater attention later on.

After his return to Fort Washington, St. Clair prepared his official report, "a model in its way, cool, dispassionate, magnanimous in a high degree," to General Knox, the War Secretary at Philadelphia, then the seat of government. Major Denny was the messenger and it was December 19th before he reached his destination. When Washington learned the appalling news, the story goes, it was whispered to him, as he sat at a formal dinner, which he continued with his usual serenity, following which was a reception attended by him with his characteristic courtliness. The guests having departed, Washington—now alone with Tobias Lear, his secretary—walking backward and forward, broke out suddenly: "It's all over—St. Clair's defeated—routed—the officers nearly all killed, the men by hundreds—the rout complete—too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain." He continued to pour forth a torrent of bitter invectives against St. Clair, that he had ignored the president's warnings and permitted the army "to be cut to pieces,

hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against. O God, O God, he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of heaven." This explosion came in tones appalling. His very frame shook. It was awful, said Mr. Lear. More than once he threw up his hands as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. Mr. Lear remained speechless, awed into breathless silence. Then having spent his "ungovernable burst of passion," Washington regained his composure and declared, "St. Clair shall have justice," and that was accorded him for he still retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of the president. This anecdote was first published in "Washington in Domestic Life" by Benjamin Rush, who received the account direct from Colonel Tobias Lear, private secretary to the president and a personal witness of the incident. It has since been repeated by innumerable historians from Washington Irving to Roosevelt and Lodge and undoubtedly occurred as related, despite the skepticism of William Henry Smith, who in his valuable sketch of St. Clair, pronounces the story as apocryphal.

The popular clamor against St. Clair was, of course, loud and deep. He promptly announced his intention of resigning his commission but expressed his desire to retain it until a court could investigate his conduct. Officers could not be spared at that time for such a purpose, and the matter was referred to a committee of Congress, which after due examination exonerated

St. Clair, and reported the cause of the defeat as due to circumstances and conditions for which the commander of the expedition was not responsible.

It was however a staggering blow to the government at the head of which was Washington, now charged with inefficiency and maladministration. The frontiersmen were thrown into a state of terror and the settlers on the Muskingum and the Miamis hastily took refuge in the stockades. It was a day of gloom and dismay. Was the government at Philadelphia impotent and would the Northwest be regained by the British and the tribesmen? St. Clair's resignation was accepted and in April, 1792, Washington, after mature deliberation, appointed as successor to the unfortunate, war-worn patriot, the young dashing plumed Navarre of warfare—Anthony Wayne. He was now less than fifty and had, more than ten years before, won the rank of major-general for his brilliant bravery and generalship in the battles of the Revolution. His star was brightest at Stony Point, into the citadel of which he forced his way at the point of the bayonet, a dare-devil feat, for which he was subsequently known as "Mad Anthony." After the Revolution he conducted, in Georgia, a campaign against the Creek Indians, in which he evinced a talent for sucessfully coping with a savage foe.

Congress at once enlarged and reorganized the army, adopted plans for the strengthening of the frontier posts and advocated measures for the placation of the Indian tribes so far as possible. Wayne was directed to make preparations for the carrying of

another war into the country of the enemy. Rufus Putnam was appointed a brigadier-general to serve under Wayne.

The American government, however, earnestly desired to avoid war, for which it could neither spare the men nor the money. Every effort was made to bring about councils conducive to peace, with some, if not all, the tribes. In March (1792), fifty Iroquois chiefs assembled at Philadelphia, "to the mutual satisfaction of the parties," says Stone, but the satisfaction must have been purely a sentimental one for no tangible results ensued. Brant declined the invitation and sent his regrets, but a few months later personally visited the "city of brotherly love" and met some American representatives, who he wrote to a British official, offered him "several allurements of gain," viz., "a thousand guineas down," and double the half pay and pension he was then receiving from Great Britain, if he would transfer his allegiance to the American government. But we are not permitted to trace the sinuous intrigues between the red and two white races, at this period, in the midst of which there now appears Colonel John G. Simcoe, first lieutenant-governor of the newly organized territory of Western Canada, with headquarters at Fort Niagara. Nor can we more than note the numerous councils and tentative measures for peace. In the summer of 1792, messengers for secret information and envoys of peace were sent into the Miami and Wabash countries. Major Alexander Truemen and Captain John Hardin, official spies, while proceeding on their errand, the former to Sandusky and the latter to the Northwest, were

murdered by the hostile Indians. General Putnam, accompanied by the missionary Heckewelder, appointed Assistant Commissioner by the War Department, reached Fort Knox where he met thirty chiefs, representing ten of the Wabash and Illinois tribes, who agreed to friendly relations with the government. During the time extending from the summer of this year (1792) to the fall of 1793, many councils of more or less importance were convened, at Detroit, Au Glaize, Rapids of the Miami, Sandusky, Niagara and other points. The proceedings of these meetings, drawn out with lengthy debates and grandiose ceremonies, are found in the American State Papers, for Indian Affairs. At these gatherings, among the British representatives were Elliott, McKee, Simcoe and John Butler; the more conspicuous Americans were Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph. Brant, tactful and treacherous, Red Jacket and Cornplanter, advocates of peace, were the leading speakers for their people. The Americans sought the cessation of hostilities, but the retention of all rights under existing treaties. The tribesmen were divided in their desires, a few tribes, especially the implacable Shawnees, were for war to the knife, mostly the chiefs contended for peace, many wished to disregard the previous treaties of Stanwix and McIntosh, and demanded that the boundary line between the white and red men be "finally fixed at Ohio River." The British at first pretending passivity gradually revealed their hostile attitude, insidiously urging on the tribesmen to an

offensive action, and becoming almost insolent in their expressions touching their policy toward the young Federal Republic.

The evidence of the bravado of the Canadian authorities is sufficiently set forth in an address of welcome to some tribal chiefs by Lord Dorchester on his return (February 10, 1794) from a visit to England. His words were: "Children since my return I find no appearance of the line [boundary] remains; and from the manner in which the peple of the United States push on and act and talk, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year, and if so the line must be drawn by the warriors."

Furthermore the situation of the National government at this time was made still more delicate and critical by the active but clandestine policy of Spain towards the United States. The Spanish authorities, for reasons it is not our province to here explain, were inciting the southern tribes to warfare against the Americans, whose representatives were meeting in councils the Creeks, Cherokees and other nations, with the purpose of retaining the amicable disposition of those tribesmen. The proceedings of these meetings, reported in the American State Papers, disclose the crafty hand of the Spaniard. For instance, at Knoxville, March, 1793, James Carey, an Indian interpreter, stated to William Blount, then territorial governor of the tract that later became the state of Tennessee, that the Cherokees, and allying southern tribes, were prepared to join the northern tribes in war against the United States, because of the "promised support of the Spaniards, the expected support of the British, and the

victories obtained by the northern tribes over the armies of the United States." Moreover the southern Indians as well as the northern, were well aware of the inability of the American government, at this time, to finance an extended war.

The series of peace councils with the northern tribes reached its close. The tribesmen were not to be appeased, believing in their strength and relying upon British complicity, their voice was for a renewal of the hostilities. No other alternative was left the government but to once more unsheathe the sword—and that was to be the sword of the invincible Wayne.

Chapter XXIV.

FALLEN TIMBERS AND THE GREENVILLE TREATY

THE Americans, as we have seen, and as Albach tersely puts it, were not disposed to yield even to this "Hydra" of British, Spanish and Indian hostility. Washington, patient, persistent and wary, directed the preparatory plans of Wayne, who spent the summer of 1792, at Pittsburg, where some twenty-five hundred men were enlisted and organized into companies of horse, foot and artillery. In the fall of this year the troops were moved twenty miles down the Ohio to Legionville, near the old historic Logstown, where temporary quarters were occupied until April, 1793, when they descended the Ohio to Cincinnati; the infantry and artillery going into camp at a point called "Hobson's Choice"—"because it was the only ground which was in any degree calculated for the purpose." The four companies of cavalry were sent over to a camp in Kentucky, "where," says King in his "Ohio" history, "bushwacking and charging through the woods and broken grounds on the Licking was practiced all summer." Wayne in due time, considered his army sufficiently well drilled and disciplined to enter upon the campaign and in October he began his forward movement into the country of the enemy. He did not, however, proceed far before meeting his first decisive opposition, which in a letter to the Secretary of War, he calls "a little check to our convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame." He had crossed the Great Miami some distance above the Four Mile Creek, where on October 17th, Lieutenant Lowry, in command of a detachment of some hundred men

and twenty wagons, was attacked by Little Turtle, with a band of savages, at Ludlow Springs, about seven miles north of Fort St. Clair. Lieutenant Lowry was killed with some thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates. The exultant warriors carried off about seventy horses but left the wagons and camp stores standing in the road. Fort St. Clair, near where this incident occurred, is here mentioned for the first time and deserves descriptive mention. It was another advantageous link in the chain of secure stations to extend from the Ohio to the Maumee and was located nearly midway between Forts Hamilton and Jefferson. It was a small stockade military post, established by the orders of General Wilkinson, in January, 1792, after the latter's return from the scene of St. Clair's defeat. It was built by Major John S. Gano and during the erection, the sentinels, guarding the work, were under Ensign William Henry Harrison, at this time a youth of twenty, but so energetic and promising as to incur the jealousy of many officers. His first appearance in this campaign was with Wilkinson in the latter's inspection of the scene of St. Clair's disaster. It was at this point, Fort St. Clair, in the Fall of 1792, that Little Turtle, the ubiquitous and unconquerable warrior, with a band of Mingoes and Wyandots, ambuscaded a company of Kentucky riflemen, under Captain John Adair, several of whose command were killed and wounded.

The fate of Lowry and his brave companions betokened to Wayne that his progress was to be contested by the enemy at every step of the way. He pushed doggedly on and took up winter quarters on the south-

ANTHONY WAYNE

Born in Chester County, Pa., January 1, 1745, died at Erie, Pa., December 15, 1796. One of the most brilliant generals in the American Revolution. Led the Western Army that finally conquered the Ohio Indian Confederacy at Fallen Timbers, August, 1794. Presided at the Greenville Treaty a year later.

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the latter's inspection of the scene of St. Cla
It was at this point, Fort St. Clair, in t
1792, that Little Turtle, the ubiquitous a
warrior, with a band of Mingoes a
ambuscaded a company of Kentuck
under Captain John Adair, several of whos
te of Lowry and his brave companions bet
Wayne that his progress was to be contest
by enemy at every step of the way. He pu
do on and took up winter quarters on the south

west branch of the Stillwater, some six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, where he erected a stockade of unusual size and strength, twenty-five rods in length, and some twelve in width, enclosing fifty acres of land. The soldiers were sheltered in comfortable huts, and there were officers' quarters, a magazine, storehouses, etc. Every precaution was taken and all provisions secured for the safety and comfort of the men. This capacious post Wayne named Fort Greenville in honor of his old comrade in the Revolution, General Greene. It is now the site of the thriving city of that name. At this fortified encampment the exercising of the soldiers in active frontier warfare was continued during the winter of 1793-94. The troops were made familiar with all the devices known to backwoods warfare. Especially was every possible precaution taken to avoid being surprised, for Wayne was determined to avoid the fates of Braddock, Harmar and St. Clair, and he attached to his army a corps of most daring and expert scouts, spies and rangers, the latter, about forty in number under Captain Ephraim Kibby, being on foot. The spies, seven in number, were mounted, and were led by William Wells, the son-in-law of Little Turtle, and who had acted as scout for his father-in-law, the Miami chief, in the Harmar and St. Clair campaigns. Just how Wells now came to be with Wayne does not seem to be clearly recorded. The usually accepted story is that after the defeat of St. Clair, in which Wells killed several Americans with his own hand, his deeds preyed upon his mind, and thinking he might have slain some of his own kinsmen, he resolved to abandon his Indian wife and half-

breed children and return to his native people. The tradition continues that on the eve of his separation he invited Little Turtle to walk with him, and together they passed to an elevation on the banks of the Maumee, from which point the picturesque scenery up and down the river could be viewed in its mid-summer beauty. There Wells broke the news of his decision, saying, "My father, we have long been friends, but I now must leave you to return to my people, and we will remain friends until the sun reaches its midday height, and from that time on we will be enemies, and if you wish to kill me you may, and if I wish to kill you I may." They warmly embraced each other, "and the large tears coursed down the sun-bronzed cheeks of the chieftain, who was unused to manifesting emotion." Certain it is Wells deserted the Miamis and joined Wayne and served him with devoted loyalty. After the campaign he was reunited to his Indian wife and children but ever remained friendly and faithful to the American cause, for which he was finally slain, in 1812, at the Chicago massacre, by Indians, who ate the heart and part of the body of the renowned scout and high-minded man. His adventures, particularly those while scout for Wayne, are related in the "Biographical Sketches," by John McDonald, himself a spy in Wayne's army. Other daring scouts with Wayne were the brothers William and Christopher Miller, and Robert McClellan; the exploits of the latter are set forth at interesting length in the "Pioneer Biography" by James McBride, and in the entertaining autobiography of the Rev. James B. Finley.

With these scouts, aided by a few Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, the country was scoured in all directions and many Indian captives secured, from whom Wayne extracted much information concerning the movements and strength of the savage foe, and learned likewise of the activities of the British in behalf of the tribesmen. Meanwhile Wayne's wood choppers were cutting roads in various directions so as to deceive the Indians as to the route he expected to pursue. They were at loss to determine whether he intended to strike for the head of the Maumee, the Rapids, or the middle course down the Auglaize. From these deceptive maneuvers and stealthy tactics the Indians gave him the title of Sukachgook, the Delaware name for Black Snake.

On Christmas day (1793) a detachment, under Captain Alexander Gibson, sent forth by Wayne, took possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. The previous burial work of Wilkinson had, necessarily, been only partially done and the bones of the slain he had interred had become in large part uncovered and exposed. The "American Pioneer" quotes a letter written by one present, to the effect: "Six hundred skulls, were gathered up and buried; when we came to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out to make our beds." Here was erected a stockade called Fort Recovery, as significant of the American reoccupation of the ground, which was now properly garrisoned and placed under the charge of Captain Gibson.

The winter and spring (1794) gradually wore away and still Wayne delayed, waiting for the arrival of

provisions and a thorough readiness before setting forth. Meanwhile the hordes of Little Turtle grew impatient and bold and under their intrepid leader advanced, in June, to make an assault on Fort Recovery which was then garrisoned by one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Major William McMahon. The warriors were estimated to be from one to two thousand strong, while Wayne in his report to Knox, says: "Certain facts and circumstances which amount almost to proof [show] that there were a considerable number of British and militia of Detroit mixed with the savages, in the assault." The fort was assailed on every side with great fury, the savages, though repulsed again and again with great loss, continued the siege for two days and the intervening night, but were ultimately compelled to retreat from the very field on which they had been so proudly victorious less than three years before. The American loss was twenty-two killed and thirty wounded. Simon Girty fought, with conspicuous fearlessness, with the Indians, and Butterfield says it was the last battle against his own countrymen in which he took an active part. The disastrous result of this assault was not only an unexpected reverse to the savages, whose loss was unusually great, but also to the British, who stood as sponsors to the movements of the tribesmen, for the British were not only redoubling their assistance to the tribes, supplying them with arms and munitions but were in their own behalf taking bold measures of offensive warfare. For it was at this time, April (1794), that under the orders of Governor Simcoe, three British companies, commanded by Colonel Richard England, proceeded

to the foot of the Maumee Rapids and built a fort, a veritable stronghold on the left or northern bank of the Maumee, "an encroachment of nearly forty miles upon the American soil." This fortification, called Fort Miami, was thoroughly armed and garrisoned under the command of Major William Campbell, while only a mile and a half above the fort and near the river rapids was the British agency of Superintendent Alexander McKee, under whose management provisions and arms were distributed to the Indians. The British, as noted by Slocum in "The Ohio Country," also built another post twelve to fifteen miles within the American territory, situated on Turtle Island, just outside the Maumee Bay, twenty miles or so northeast from the Fort Miami.

At Fort Miami, as well as at Fort Lernoult, as the Detroit post defense was now called after its commandant, Lernoult, all movements of Wayne's army were promptly reported and precautions defensive were taken or operations offensive made accordingly, as if the advance of the American army was a campaign hostile to the British no less than to the Indian tribesmen. Certainly these martial movements, so open and flagrant, in violation of the peaceful treaties and relations then presumptively existing between England and the Republic, not only aroused the indignation of Washington, and the protest of Jefferson, but not a little alarmed the citizens of the country. At this time Mr. Jay was in London engaged in the treaty negotiations between American and England and to him Washington wrote concerning the Miami Fort episode: "Can that government, or will it attempt,

after this official act of one of its governors, to hold out ideas of friendly intentions toward the United States, and suffer such conduct to pass with impunity? This may be considered as the most open and daring act of the British agents in America, though it is not the most hostile or cruel; for there does not remain a doubt in the mind of any well informed person in this country, not shut against conviction, that all the difficulties we encounter with the Indian—their hostilities, the numbers of helpless women and innocent children along our frontiers—result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country; in vain is it, then, for its administration in Britain to disavow having given orders which will warrant such conduct, whilst their agents go unpunished." etc.

To what extent the effrontery of the Canadian authorities represented the acquiescence, possibly the initiative, of the English government at London, is a question too discursive to our purpose. That the British home ministry had guilty knowledge, if not actual participation in it all—as implied by Washington's letter to Jay—is clearly proven in the Canadian Archives and concisely stated in the authoritative pages of Justin Winsor's "Westward Movement."

On the 26th of July, General Charles Scott, with sixteen hundred mounted men from Kentucky, whither they had been sent to remain during the past winter, joined Wayne at Greenville and two days later the legion left its quarters and moved forward. It was a tedious progress for roads had to be cut, log bridges thrown across the streams and the swamps made passable by fillings of stubble, brush and timber. In five

days the St. Mary's River was reached on the banks of which was built a small stockade thereafter known as Fort Adams. It was while directing the erection of this small fortress that a portion of a falling tree struck General Wayne nearly putting an end to his existence, as related in the diary of Lieutenant Boyer. A week later, August 8th, brought the army to the confluence of the Auglaize and the Maumee, a place which Boyer states "far excels in beauty any in the western country and believed to be equalled by none in the Atlantic states; here are vegetables of every kind in abundance and we have marched four or five miles in corn fields down the Auglaize and there is not less than a thousand acres of corn round the town." This location Wayne called "the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West." At this strategic point Wayne, without delay, proceeded to erect another strong and capacious log stockade, with four good blockhouses as bastions, which he christened Fort Defiance. It was here that began the string of Indian towns that extended along the banks of the Maumee to the Lake, "the margin of the beautiful Miami of the Lake [Maumee]" wrote Wayne, "appeared like one continued village for many miles." At the approach of the army the savages deserted their habitations and fled down the river.

From this Auglaize camp Wayne received full and accurate accounts of the strength and position of the Indians and the aid they would receive from the British. From here he also sent a final offer of friendship to the Indians, asking them to select deputies to meet him, "in order to settle preliminaries of a lasting peace" which might eventually restore to them their posses-

sions on the Maumee and Auglaize and preserve their hapless women and children from danger and famine. He further warned them to "be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men [British] at the foot of the Rapids." The chiefs asked ten days' delay for deliberation. But Wayne would waste no time in parleyings, his reply was an immediate forward march.

On the 18th the army had advanced forty-one miles from Fort Defiance, adown the river, "and began throwing up works wherein to secure and deposit the heavy baggage during the expected battle. The enclosure was called Fort Deposit. On this day, Boyer's diary reads: "May, one of our spies, fell under the enemy's hold; what his fate may be must be left to future success." What that fate was is told in the narrative of the captivity of John Brickell, as related by himself and published in the "American Pioneer." Scout May, in 1791, was taken prisoner at a settlement on the Allegheny River, by Delaware Indians under George Girty. The latter led Brickell, then a lad of ten years of age, to the Tuscarawas River. Thence he was carried to the region of the Maumee, where he was adopted by a tribesman named Whingy Pooshies —known as Big Cat—who must have been a most influential chief among his people for at the victory over St. Clair, his share of the spoils was "two fine horses, four tents, one of which was a noble markee, which," says Brickell, "made us a fine house in which we lived the remainder of my captivity." Brickell and his Indian captors were at the Rapids on Wayne's approach, and it was into the camp of Whingy Pooshies

that May intruded and met his capture. Brickell, who says the captors knew May, for he had been their prisoner once before, then briefly relates the sequence. They told May: "We know you—you speak Indian language—you not content to live with us; to-morrow we take you to a tree—(pointing to a very large burr oak at the edge of the clearing which was near the British fort)—we will tie you up and make mark on your breast and we will try what Indian can shoot nearest it." It so turned out. The next day, the very day before the battle, the savages bound May to the tree, made a mark on his breast and riddled his body with bullets, shooting at least fifty into him. This ended poor May, the over-brave scout.

The overtures of peace proposed by Wayne were not accepted. A day or two before the battle, the chiefs held a council. Little Turtle was wise and advocated peace, for as he said, he saw certain defeat if they ventured battle, saying, "We have beaten the enemy twice under different commanders, we cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans now have a chief who never sleeps. The night and day are alike to him. During all the time he has been on our villages. Notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers in my mind it would be well to listen to his offers of peace." But Blue Jacket and other chiefs were for war. Little Turtle then proposed a plan of battle, that he thought would win the day. It was for the savage army to be divided; one half to meet and hold Wayne in check but fall back, letting

Wayne advance, while the other Indian wing should ford the Maumee in the night and ascend the south bank to Fort Deposit, take or destroy the supplies, then hasten along the north bank to the rear and left flank of Wayne's army. But Blue Jacket rejected the plan; they would boldly meet Wayne in front. In this decision doubtless Tecumseh the Shawnee warrior acquiesced.

On August 20th the advancing army reached the place on the river bank, near the British Fort, known as Fallen Timbers, because the land was strewn with the rows of dead trees of a former thick forest, over which a hurricane some two years previous had swept. The night before the encounter, the plan of battle was outlined by Lieutenant William Henry Harrison, then on the staff of Wayne. It was early in the morning when Wayne's columns confidently moved into line opposite the Rapids. The order of the advance as stated by Wayne in his subsequent official report was: "the legion on the right, its right flank covered by the Miamis [Maumee] one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbie. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war." We let Wayne's report in the American State Papers relate the succinct but authentic account of the battle: "After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from

the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles, at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again. I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians, and Canadian militia,

and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbie, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their numbers."

The shrewd scheme of Wayne was most successful. The sudden and systematic attack upon the Indian lines at all points, stampeded the savage warriors and forced them into a general and promiscuous flight, which their chiefs in vain strove to check. The disorderly retreat, with the Americans in close pursuit, continued three or four miles, to within range of the guns of Fort Miami, the gates of which were closed barring admission to the warriors, much to their rage and dismay for the British had promised them the protection of the fortress. Bitterly denouncing the treachery of their alleged Canadian allies, the tribesmen fled on to the inland forests and vanished no one knew whither.

"From every account," says Wayne, "the Indian force equalled two thousand, including the British Rangers and Canadian volunteers, of whose number there is much dispute." The garrison at Fort Miami at the time was some four hundred strong, a portion of which took part in the battle. Brice in his "History of Fort Wayne" puts the Indian command at fourteen hundred and the British allies at seventy. The Indian tribes were represented about as follows: Delaware

500, Shawnees 350, Wyandots 300, Tawas 250, Miami 200. There were also small bands of other tribes. The British contingent, probably about 200, was under Captain Caldwell; Alexander McKee, Mathew Elliott and Simon Girty, "were in the field but at a respectable distance and near the river." There is some uncertainty as to which of the chiefs was in command of the warriors, the writers vary as to this, but in all probability it was Blue Jacket, for the tradition is reasonable, that Little Turtle, the ranking chief in influence and talent, refused to take the responsibility of what he regarded as a sure defeat.

The loss to the Americans was: killed, twenty-eight privates and five officers, wounded eighty-four privates and sixteen officers. The loss to the Indians, as in most battles, was unknown, but it must have been heavy for their ground of retreat was covered with dead and wounded. Immediately after the engagement, Wayne's army marched down the Maumee and encamped on its brink within view of the British fort, from whose ramparts "His Majesty's soldiers" had witnessed with great mortification the rout of their Indian wards. Major William Campbell of the British 24th Regiment, in command of the fort, at once addressed a note to General Wayne protesting against his near approach to a "post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain occupied by his Majesty's troops," declaring that he "knew of no war existing between Great Britain and America." To this Wayne tartly responded that he thought his intentions were sufficiently evident in his successful battle with the Indians. Campbell's reply complained that Wayne's soldiers had marched within

pistol shot of the British fort, and made the threat that he would fire upon them if a second chance was given. Whereupon Wayne ordered Campbell to abandon the fort. It was a war of blustering words, but Wayne proceeded with impunity, to destroy everything up to the very walls of the fort; likewise all the neighboring Indian villages were laid waste; their crops burned down and in addition all the houses and buildings of the British agents and traders, including the post of Alexander McKee, were demolished.

It was the most decisive defeat the tribes had received since the battle of Point Pleasant, fought just twenty years before, and to the fame of Wayne, one of the heroes of the Revolution, was now added the honor of the conquest of the Ohio Indian Confederacy. The tribesmen gave the victor of Fallen Timbers the name of the "Tornado," or the "Whirlwind," indicative of the impetuous and destructive force with which he swept everything before him. For three days he remained on the field of battle, completing his work of devastation, when he fell back to Fort Defiance, at which he remained until September 14th, when the legion, having strengthened the Auglaize fortress and having left a protective garrison, moved up the river to the juncture of the Joseph and St. Mary's, the scene of Harmar's defeat, and the site of the restored Indian villages, which villages by the unsparing "Tornado," were again laid waste and in their place a suitable fort was erected, provisioned, garrisoned and named, by Colonel Hamtramck, after the hero of the campaign, Fort Wayne.

At Fort Wayne the army rested. The campaign was virtually over and the mounted Kentuckians were with difficulty kept in order until their term of service was over and they were sent home. Wayne, leaving a garrison at Fort Wayne, then moved the legion of regulars back to Greenville, which was reached November 2d, just three months and six days after they had departed from it on their victorious campaign. Safely ensconced in his comfortable Greenville quarters, the victor of Fallen Timbers patiently awaited the result. The Indian confederacy was in confusion. Many of the tribes were for protracting the war while others recognized the inevitable and were prepared to yield the field. Probably all the tribes would have abandoned all idea of further hostilities had it not been for the British. Only a month after the battle, Governor Simcoe and Chief Brant, the latter with a retinue of one hundred Mohawk warriors, met Alexander McKee at Fort Miami, "evidently for the purpose of continuing in the exercise of an unfriendly influence upon the minds of the Indians against the United States." They invited the chiefs to assemble at Detroit, in council, which met in October. Many tribesmen and chiefs assembled; Simcoe opposed any truce of peace between the nations and the Americans. He boldly urged the warriors to compel the Americans to retire back to the east side of the Ohio and advised every tribe to sign a deed of conveyance of all their lands, on the west and north side of the Ohio, to the King, in trust for the Indians, so as to give the British a pretext or color for assisting them, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions

on the northwest of the river. As substantial proof of the continuation of British support, supplies were freely distributed to the tribesmen. All this met the approval of Brant and not a few chiefs, especially Blue Jacket, were disposed to renew hostilities, and there were many tokens that the war clouds were again gathering. But with many chiefs better counsels prevailed. The Miamis and the Wyandots, especially sought to conciliate their late conquerors. One Wyandot chief went in person to Wayne and said: "I live in Sandusky. We Wyandots now wish for peace and are determined to bury the hatchet and scalping knife deep in the ground. We pray you have pity on us and leave us a small piece of land to build a town upon. The Great Spirit has given land enough for all to live and hunt upon. We have looked all around us for a piece to move to and cannot find any. We want to know your mind. We intend to build a stockade [on Sandusky River] and blockhouse to defend ourselves till we hear from you. We don't know whether we are right or wrong in doing it, but have pity on us."

Wayne invited the tribes to dispatch deputies to confer with him; and many accepted and were hospitably received by the general. Late in December the representatives of several tribes manifested to the commandant at Greenville, their desire for a treaty of peace, and in January (1795) preliminary articles of negotiation were entered into by Wayne, with deputies from the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattomies and Miamis. It was agreed that all the sachems and war chiefs of the above and other tribes should assemble

at Greenville about the middle of June to conclude a treaty. Before that date, the chiefs and sachems of the tribes began to assemble and on the 16th the general council was formally opened. It was an imposing assembly, comprising no less than 1,130 chiefs, sachems and warriors, divided as follows: Delawares 381, Pottawattomies 240, Wyandots 180, Shawnees 143, Miami and Eel River 73, Chippewas 46, Ottawas 45, Weas and Piankeshaws 12, Kickapoos and Kaskaskias 10. Among the half dozen interpreters were William Wells and Isaac Zane. Of the proceedings which lasted some fifty days we must refrain from giving the details. There were the customary ceremonies of smoking the peace pipe, passing the strings of wampum, feasting and the interminable flow of oratory, each tribe through its spokesman uttering its complaints, defining its rights, and imploring concessions. The chief orators, were Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, The Sun, Red Pole, Little Beaver, New Corn, Tarhe, and many others. Their speeches are reported in the official proceedings of the council as printed in the "American State Papers." The orators, who called Wayne "Elder Brother," dwelt on the previous treaties and their grievances because of alleged bad faith on the part of the citizens of the "fifteen fires"; how the Americans had gradually encroached upon the territory of the tribesmen. Wayne, who addressed the warriors as "Younger Brothers," made frequent answer, explaining the terms of the proposed treaty and exhorting the chiefs to accept the proffered articles of compact. Frazer E. Wilson in his "Peace of Mad Anthony Wayne," an admirable summary of the council pro-

ceedings, notes that "a large number of belts and strings of wampum were passed by the various tribes during the deliberations; mention being made of road belts, mixed belts, a blue belt, a belt with nine white squares, a large belt with men and a horse designated upon it, a war belt, numerous white and blue belts and strings of wampum. Some of these belts contained a thousand or more beads of wampum, and as each bright, flinty bead is said to have represented a day's labor for these primitive people, we readily conclude that they meant more than a great sum of money might mean to the whites, and were indeed, striking pledges of good will."

On August 3d, General Wayne read for the third time the proposed treaty and each tribe was in turn asked if it agreed; in chorus the response was the Indian for "yes." The document was then signed by the Indian chiefs authorized to so act for their tribes, by Wayne, William Henry Harrison and others for the United States, and by the interpreters to the council. The signatures of the tribesmen make a curious and interesting study. The name of each chief was written out by the interpreters, and each name was accompanied, by a small pen drawing of the totem or clan symbol of the signer, to which was attached a seal. Some ninety chiefs and representatives signed the document, among them Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Buckongahelas and Tarhe, the latter's name led all the rest. Later on, December 22 (1795), it was signed by Washington "with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States."

GREENVILLE TREATY

The first section of the Greenville Treaty, showing signatures of Anthony Wayne and the Wyandot Indians, the first name being Tarhe, the Wyandot chief. Each Indian signing drew opposite his name the totem of his tribe or clan. A photograph of the duplicate of the original Treaty. The original is in the Library of Congress. The duplicate is in the Museum of the Greenville Historical Society.

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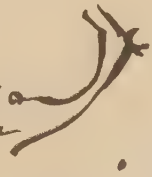
Antᵒ Wayne

Tar-hé (or Crane)

William Sun

Tey-yagh-taw

Ha-ra en-you (or half King's son



Te-haaw to rens

Aw-me-yee-ray

laye-tah

The preamble states the purpose of the treaty—"to put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the United States and Indian tribes." The nine articles provide for the cessation of hostilities, exchange of prisoners, definite description of boundaries, the delivery of $20,000 worth of goods at once to the Indians, apportioned among the various tribes signing the treaty, and the promise of $9,500 worth of goods yearly forever thereafter. The boundary line established ran "between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, and run thence up the same, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence, down that branch to the crossing place, above Fort Lawrence [Laurens]; thence Westerly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami River running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's River, which is a branch of the Miami, which runs into Lake Erie; thence, a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence, South Westerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river, opposite the mouth of the Kentucke, or Cuttawa river."

In addition to the tribes who signed the treaty, shortly after the council, Wayne sent messages to the band of Cherokees, settled at the headwaters of the Scioto, to come and enter into similar articles of agreement. Also a refractory and hostile band of sixty

or seventy Shawnee warriors, under Pucksekaw, called the Jumper, came to Greenville and desired to come under the treaty, stating they were hunting at a distance, during the council, and did not know of it.

The Greenville Treaty was an epochal event in the history of the Northwest Territory. The border warfare now closed, never to be renewed, and peace was to prevail between the white and the red man for sixteen years until the outbreak of Tecumseh's confederacy which was the prelude to the opening of the War of 1812.

But peace with the Indians was not the only result of Wayne's victory. It was a potent influence in the subsidence of British hostility to the United States as reflected in the Jay treaty. Owing to the disturbed relationship existing between the British and Americans and the non-fulfilment by England of many stipulations of the peace treaty of 1783, Washington appointed John Jay, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, an envoy extraordinary from the United States to England. The envoy reached London in June, 1794, and began his negotiations with the ministers of his Britannic Majesty, during the days that Wayne was marching along the banks of the Maumee to the subjugation of the savage allies of England. Jay diplomatically discharged his errand and November 19th, the treaty agreed upon was signed by Lord Grenville and on June 8th, 1795, was submitted to the United States Senate for ratification. At this time the public sentiment in America was one of extravagant admiration for the principles of the French Revolution—then at its height—and in favor of the unbridled rule of the

CHIEF LITTLE TURTLE

The Miami chief. Born on the Eel River, near Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1752. Resided in northwest Ohio most of his life. Greatest warrior among the Ohio tribes. Led the Indian forces at St. Clair's defeat and at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Died at Fort Wayne, July 14, 1812. His Indian name as spelled in the Greenville Treaty, was Meshekinnoghquoh. An imaginary picture.

history of the Northwest Territory. The b[illegible] was to prevail between the white and the red n[illegible] War of 1812.

[illegible] of Wayne's victory. It was a potent influence i[illegible] reflected in the Jay treaty. Owing to the distu[illegible] and the non-fulfilment by England of many stip[illegible] of the peace treaty of 1783, Washington appointe[illegible] extraordinary from the United States to E[illegible] The envoy reached London in June, 1794, and be[illegible] Majesty, during the days that Wayne was marchi[illegible] along the banks of the Maumee to the subjug[illegible] of the savage allies of England. Jay diplomatical[illegible] discharged his errand and November 19th, the trea[illegible] agreed upon was signed by Lord Grenville and o[illegible] [illegible] in America was one of extravagant admirati[illegible] for the principles of the French Revolution—ther[illegible] its height—and in favor of the unbridled rule of [illegible]

people. On the other hand the hatred of England, as representing the monarchical form of government, was intense, and her disregard of the terms of the Treaty of 1783 heightened the adverse feeling which the Americans maintained against the British, with whom war would have been welcomed by a large portion of the people. This is not the place to elaborate upon this political situation, save to say, that when the Jay Treaty was made public in the summer of 1795 there was an outburst of public denunciation of England and the treaty; popular meetings decried Washington and even demanded his impeachment and Jay was burned in effigy in cities from New England to Georgia. This political storm in the East and South was raging while the tribesmen with savage eloquence were debating peace with Wayne at Greenville. The poise and firmness of Washington, however, rode the waves of popular prejudice and stilled the tempest, and the Senate ratified the treaty on August 18th.

Concerning the terms of this famous document we have little to do. It consisted of twenty-eight articles, touching upon the disputed boundary lines, the collection of the British debts, the American-European trade in the West Indies, etc. The evacuation of the American forts, still occupied by the British was the only one of the American claims definitely decided; article II stipulated: "His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before June 1, 1796," etc. In obedience to the terms of this treaty, Fort Miami was yielded to

the Americans, July 26, 1796. Fort Industry, located at the mouth of the Maumee, was erected by the orders of Wayne, after the battle of Fallen Timbers as a safeguard against Fort Miami; it was never in the possession of the British.

The hero of Fallen Timbers and the Greenville Treaty did not long survive to enjoy the honors of his triumphs. Leaving Greenville soon after the treaty, he returned to his home in Pennsylvania and was appointed commissioner to treat with the Indians of the Northwest and to take possession of all the British forts in that territory and which were surrendered under the terms of the Jay treaty. In the autumn of 1796 after receiving the possession of Detroit, Wayne embarked on Lake Erie for home but en route was seized with a severe attack of gout and died at Erie, Pa. He was succeeded as commandant of the American army in the West by General James Wilkinson.

Before bidding farewell to Wayne and his conquests in war and peace it is more than fitting that we linger briefly to speak finally of two of the leading chiefs with whom he came in contact. Both have been mentioned; both are illustrious on the pages of Ohio history. One was Tarhe—also written Tarke—commonly called the Crane, from the sobriquet Le Chef Grue, given him by the French. According to the American Bureau of Ethnology, Tarhe was born at Detroit, in 1742 and early became a chief of the Porcupine Clan of the Wyandots, his native tribe. According to the same authority he fought under Cornstalk at the Battle of Point Pleasant. He took

up his residence with the Ohio Wyandots, and with the history of that tribe his life is intimately associated. From data furnished the present writer by General Robert P. Kennedy, the distinguished speaker and publicist, who received his information from near relatives of Isaac Zane, we learn that Tarhe took for wife a daughter of Chevalier La Durante, a French Canadian. The attractive young woman had been made captive by the Wyandots and in due time willingly wedded the young chief who possessed every trait of a noble character. The only issue of this marriage was the beautiful and graceful half breed, Myeerah, called by her tribesmen the "White Crane."

We have already met with the Zanes. Robert Zane, the first of the family to emigrate to America, came over with William Penn, in 1682, settling in Pennsylvania. Robert's grandson, William, was the father of the historic five brothers, Ebenezer, Silas, Andrew, Jonathan and Isaac, and an only daughter, Elizabeth, the heroine of Fort Henry. In 1762, Isaac, then nine years of age and Jonathan, two years older, were captured by a band of Wyandots, raiding across the Ohio border. Jonathan was ransomed and returned home, but Tarhe, into whose custody Isaac had fallen, refused to give up the boy, adopting him as his son and treating him with the greatest kindness and consideration. The boy Isaac remained with his Wyandot tribe, being well content with his lot, until 1772, when he returned to Virginia and there served in the House of Burgesses. But he had become wonted to Indian life and moreover enamored of Myeerah, the beautiful French-Indian princess, four

years his junior, and in 1777 he voluntarily returned to the wigwams of the Wyandots and Myeerah became his bride and "for nearly forty years those two went together as man and wife," the husband, ever the friend of the white people as well as the tribesmen, being called by the latter the "White Eagle." Zane and wife secured a tract of land in the Mad River Valley, where he established a stockade and settlement called Zanestown, later and better known as Zanesfield. At that place he was living, in 1786, when Benjamin Logan came from Kentucky to destroy the Indian towns on the Mad River, and shortly after the above date, Simon Kenton established his home near Zanestown, where Zane died in 1816, leaving sons and daughters. Such is the backwoods romance as related by Kennedy and substantiated by trustworthy testimony.

Basil Meek, the authoritative historian of Sandusky County, in his notes concerning Tarhe, states the chief's name appears as a witness to the Treaty of Fort Finney (1786) and as a signer to the Treaty of Fort Harmar (1789.) Before the battle of Fallen Timbers, Tarhe sided with Little Turtle in advocating peace but that policy being abandoned he fought with his tribe in the battle and was badly wounded in the arm. Tarhe was the special friend of Logan, and the Wyandot village, the early home of Tarhe—called Solomonstown, near the head of the Great Miami—in the northwestern part of what is now Logan County, was not far from Logan's Mingo village on the headwaters of the Scioto. After Wayne's treaty, Tarhe removed from Solomonstown to a location near the present site of Lancaster, where he established an Indian

CHIEF TECUMSEH

The foremost Indian chief of the Ohio Tribes. Born on the Mad River in 1768, killed at the Battle of the Thames, Canada, October 5, 1813. He was one of the bravest warriors and ablest counsellors among the tribesmen in the later Ohio Indian wars. This picture is from the painting supposed to best portray his features. No likeness from life is known to exist. The artist painted this portrait from descriptions by those who knew him. It represents him in the costume of a British Brigadier.

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village, of two hundred families, called Tarhestown. After the opening of Zane's Trace—the bridle path cut by Ebenezer Zane from the Ohio at Wheeling, across the country by Chillicothe and Lancaster, to Limestone, Kentucky—Tarhe moved with his tribe to the vicinity of Upper Sandusky, where at Cranetown he spent the remainder of his life. As noted, Tarhe was the first to sign the Greenville Treaty and ever after faithfully adhered to the American cause, especially during the War of 1812. He met General Harrison at the latter's headquarters at Franklinton (Columbus), on the Scioto, June 21, 1813, and there participated in a peace council, pledging the Wyandots in friendship to Harrison, whom he accompanied on the latter's march to the Battle of the Thames, which Tarhe witnessed but in which he does not appear to have taken part. An immense concourse of tribesmen including representatives from the Lake Superior nations of the Great West and from the New York and Canadian Iroquois tribes, attended Tarhe's burial at Cranetown in 1818, Red Jacket being one of many funeral orators.

In marked contrast to the soldierly submission of Tarhe to the terms of the Wayne compact, was the rebellious attitude of Tecumseh, who contumaciously refused to attend the Greenville council, much less attach his name to a treaty, the effect of which, he maintained, was one of force and not of justice; a treaty, for twenty years thereafter, till his tragic death, he never ceased to denounce but ever strove to abrogate. At Fallen Timbers, leading a band of fierce

Shawnees, he was found in the very forefront and thickest of the assault, while his brother Sauwaseekau, a warrior of distinction, fell fighting by his side.

From the Draper Manuscripts, the source for the authentic biography of the chief by Benjamin Drake, we learn that Tecumseh, destined to a life of relentless but futile struggle in behalf of his race, was born, in 1768, on the banks of the Mad River, in the Shawnee village of Piqua, a settlement we saw destroyed by the expedition (1780) of George Rogers Clark. Certainly no Indian family was so remarkable as that into which Tecumseh made his entry. His mother, Methoataska, meaning "a turtle laying eggs in the sand," was probably of the Creek tribe. His father, Puckishenoah—or Puckeschinwau—a chief of the Kiscapocoke clan of the warfaring Shawnees, was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant and on the field, in his dying moments, he committed to his eldest son, Cheeseekau, his father's companion in the battle, the custody of the favorite son Tecumseh, then but six years of age. There were other sons, besides those already mentioned; Nehaseemo, Kumskaukau and Laulewasikau—the latter became the noted Prophet, whose activities gave him a place in Ohio Indian annals, second only to that of Tecumseh. To these six brothers there was one sister, Tecumapease, for whom Tecumseh ever displayed the greatest admiration and affection.

For the interesting particulars of the Shawnee's eventful career, the nature of which is indicated by the significance of his name, Tikamthe or Tecumthe—"one who passes across intervening space from one point to another," hence a "meteor" or "shooting

ELKSWATAWA, THE PROPHET

The younger brother of Tecumseh, called the Prophet. His Indian name was Laulewasikau, or the "Loud Voice." When he became a Prophet, he took the name Tenekawautawan, or "Open Door," also called Elkswatawa. He claimed to receive revelations from the Great Spirit. He established his quarters at the junction of the Mud and Greenville creeks, site of Greenville. He exerted a great influence over the western tribes. From a painting in the collection at Washington, D. C.

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"one who passes across intervening space from or
point to another," hence a "meteor" or "shootin

star,"—we refer the reader to the appreciative essay by William Jackson Armstrong, in "Heroes of Defeat," a volume of fine scholarship and rare literary merit.

The youthful Tecumseh was carefully trained, in the customs of peace and the art of war, by Cheeseekau, who was killed in a campaign against the southern tribes, during the inter-tribal wars in which Tecumseh received his martial education. We met him watching St. Clair's expedition, and have noted his relation to Wayne's campaign, after which, in 1798, the chief, conquered but not subdued, with his tribesmen, removed to a Delaware village on the White River in Indiana, whence he wandered, at intervals among the tribes of Ohio, in the south and the west. Tradition indulges him many "affairs of the heart," and history weds him to a most beautiful Shawnee half breed woman Mamate by name, the mother of his only child, a boy, Pugeshashewa, born about 1796, who survived his illustrious father and became an officer in the British army. Tecumseh early developed unusual powers of oratory, notable exhibitions of which were displayed at a gathering in Urbana (1799), and at a council (1803), over which Governor Tiffin presided, at Chillicothe, then the capital of the newly admitted State of Ohio.

Meanwhile the Shawnees, scattered in settlements in Ohio and Indiana, concentrated at the juncture of the Mud and Greenville creeks, adjoining the site of Wayne's detested treaty. And here comes into prominence Tecumseh's extraordinary and mysterious brother, Laulewasikau, the "Loud Voice," who essayed the role of the Prophet, assuming the name Tenekawautawa—with many varieties of spelling—signifying the

"Open Door," because he was to unfold the revelations of the Great Spirit, directing the tribal hosts to reject the contaminating customs and beliefs of the white race and to return to the primitive life of the forest. Hundreds from all tribes, even those from distant regions, flocked to hear and accept the gospel recalling them to their forgotten faith and neglected practices. This religious and patriotic revival, Tecumseh turned to his account in the long decreed purpose to reunite the tribes in a confederacy that should be the realization of the daring dream of Pontiac. The inscrutable ceremonies, half religious, half martial, at Greenville, alarmed the state government at Chillicothe and the National authorities at Washington. Tecumseh, Blue Jacket, Roundhead and Panther, were summoned to Chillicothe, where for many days (1807) they endeavored by their pleas and explanations to allay the alarm of the citizens of Ohio. On this occasion Tecumseh in burning rhetoric rehearsed the past wrongs inflicted upon his people, while disclaiming any treacherous plans in the gatherings at Greenville. In the spring of the following year (1808) Tecumseh and the Prophet removed their headquarters to a tract granted them by the Pottawattomies and Kickapoos, on the Tippecanoe, a branch of the Wabash. The new center was known as the Prophet's Town, and here the teachings of the "Open Door" roused the assembled tribesmen to inflammable fanaticism, while Tecumseh, in marvelous journeyings, covering the land from the Everglades of Florida to the sources of the Mississippi, met nation after nation and in periods of intense eloquence, urged the tribesmen to united action against

the white conquerors, who were to be driven from the Northwest Territory, back beyond the Ohio, the natural and just boundary between the two hostile races. Tarhe, among the Ohio tribes, took issue with Tecumseh, whom he charged with working for no good purpose, and the Wyandots refrained from becoming participants in the schemes of the Shawnee.

Events rapidly culminated, when in August (1810), in accordance with the summons of Harrison, then territorial governor of Indiana, Tecumseh, with three hundred of his warriors, appeared at Vincennes to give account of his movements so warlike in appearance. It was one of the most dramatic scenes in Indian history, in which Tecumseh's eloquence rose to the loftiest heights of savage oratory, but the Vincennes meeting, so spectacular in its incidents and so significant in its proceedings, closed with the conviction, on the part both of the governor and the chief, that open hostilities were inevitable. The Prophet and his host of warriors were routed by General Harrison and the regular army at Tippecanoe in the summer of 1811, while Tecumseh was absent rallying the tribes in the south. The War of 1812 ensued. Upon that period it is not for us to dwell. It afforded Tecumseh the psychological moment for the fulfillment of his life effort. He would ally his great confederacy to the British cause and the alliance must surely regain the Northwest for the defrauded and defeated tribesmen. At the head of a small band of his tribe the chief drew the first blood of the Americans, in the encounter near Brownstown. Commanding the Indian allies, under General Isaac Brock, Tecumseh was a

jubilant witness of the inglorious surrender by General William Hull of Detroit and when Brock the British general, on receiving the American soldiers requested the implacable chief not to allow his excited warriors to ill-treat the prisoners, the chief replied disdainfully, "No! I dispise them too much to meddle with them." But the fear of Brock was groundless for it had ever been the humane policy of Tecumseh to restrain his warriors from all deeds of torture and cruelty in dealing with their captives, nor was he himself ever guilty of wanton bloodshed. In this he stood forth in striking contrast to the customs of his tribe and race. The valor in fight and humanity in victory so characteristic of the intrepid chief were exhibited at the respective sieges of Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson, his services in those events meriting him the rank of Brigadier General in the British army, and as such officer he dictated the plan of action, and commanded the tribal warriors at the decisive Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. General Henry A. Procter, led the defeated and retiring British force and Indian allies, till they reached the Thames, when Tecumseh refused to further retreat and demanded battle with the Americans. But the waning fortunes of the British gave him faint assurance of the outcome, and the oft-repeated perfidy to the faithful warriors, of his Majesty's craven officials, sank his soul in despair. With the heroic stoicism of his race he faced the inevitable. Addressing his dusky warriors, as they advanced to the final clash of arms, he said: "Brother Warriors, we are now about to enter an engagement from which I shall never escape; my body will remain on the

battle field." Unbuckling his sword, he requested, "when my son becomes a noted warrior, give him this." He then removed his British uniform and took his place in line, attired only in the buckskin hunting dress of his people. To the fate of death, in a failing cause, on a foreign field, afar from the forests of his beloved native soil, he would not add the disgrace of wearing as his shroud the insignia of a nation professedly his friend but really his treacherous foe. Eye-witnesses testify that the clarion tones of the chief were heard above the din of arms, calling upon his followers to "be brave, be brave," then "Tecumseh fell dead and they all ran," said a Pottawattomie chief. The tongue that for years had called aloud at the council fires and 'neath the forest boughs, ever for justice to his people, was stilled forever, nor was there to be other voice to renew the summons to rise and repel the invading whites. For fifty years, a full half century, from the conspiracy of Pontiac to the confederacy of Tecumseh, the war for the possession of the Ohio country had been bitterly waged; the battle of the Thames was the culmination of that contest and with the death of the heroic Shawnee there vanished the last hope of the tribesmen that they might regain the lost lands of their wigwams and hunting-grounds. From now on the irresistible tide of civilization was to sweep the savages across the Father of Waters and yet far beyond where they were to become the helpless wards of the conquering nation.

Such, in terms all too brief, was Tecumseh. Pontiac has been endowed with greater fame, since his bloody deeds were portrayed by the graphic pen of Parkman;

Little Turtle rivalled him in the art of savage warfare; Joseph Brant outwitted him in the arena of diplomacy; Red Jacket was not his inferior in gifts of eloquence; but in the components of a puissant and regal character, in the dominant instincts of humanity and justice and in unwavering and unselfish devotion to the rights due his race, Tecumseh was "the noblest Roman of them all."

FORT DEFIANCE

Built by General Wayne's army in August, 1794. It stood in the angle formed by the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers. The picture shows the four corner blockhouses, which were connected by a line of strong pickets, outside of which was a wall of earth eight feet thick and ditch fifteen feet wide and eight feet deep.

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Chapter XXV.

THE WESTERN RESERVE

AS narrated in the early pages of our chronicle, the northeastern portion of the domain that was in time to become Ohio, the strip known as the Western Reserve, was the arena in which occurred the first events recorded in Ohio history. Those events, it will be recalled, pertained to the war waged by the terrible Iroquois against the Eries or Cat Nation, as mentioned in the Jesuit *Relations*. And now in the last pages of our pre-state history we return to the same locality.

Before we enter upon the period of the permanent settlement of this section, it is fitting that we revert to the fate of the Moravians, who were the first to inhabit, though only temporarily, the prospective new Connecticut. We left the Moravian missionaries and their band of converted "Brown Brethren," exiled from Captives' Town, at Detroit, where they had arrived in the spring of 1782. Major de Peyster, the Canadian Commandant, gave them the alternative of returning to Bethelem (Pa.), the original home of their Mission, or remain in the vicinity of Detroit, under the espionage of the British. They chose the latter, and accepted the friendly offer of the Chippewas, who granted the Moravians an abiding place among their tribesmen on the Huron River, some twenty-five miles from Detroit. This Michigan settlement was called New Gnadenhutten, and here Heckewelder soon joined his companion Zeisberger. After "four years of quiet and measurable success," it was their destiny to continue their wanderings, for the Chippewas had offered them an asylum only until peace might be established between Great Britain and the United States. The

Huron—or Clinton River—Mission was abandoned in the spring of 1786, and the return to Ohio territory determined upon. In two sloops they were conveyed across Lake Erie and after many "perils in the waters and perils in the wilderness" they reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga River—Cayahaga, Heckewelder calls it—they ascended the river "about a dozen miles from the Lake," where they pitched their camp, erected huts and began to plant corn with the intention of proceeding on to the Tuscarawas after harvest season. This temporary station, Loskiel, their historian, calls Pilgerruh, or "Pilgrims Rest." But the "rest" was only for a year, when the settlement, owing to the hostility of the neighboring tribes was transferred westward to the River Huron—in Ohio—a few miles from its mouth, near the present site of Milan. Again the camp became a collection of huts that grew rapidly in number into a "thriving town and a center of Christianty." It bore the name of New Salem in the records of the Indian Mission, and for four years—until March, 1791—flourished with a degree of material and spiritual prosperity that seemed to revive the "Golden days" of their early history on the Tuscarawas. Members of the different tribes, from far and near, flocked to hear the Gospel, the preaching of which was attended by numerous conversions, including many chiefs, among them Captain Killbuck—or Gelelemend—who ever after was a "faithful helper in the church."

It was during the first year of the New Salem sojourn that Congress, just two weeks after the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787 (viz, July 27), passed an act

granting the Moravian Indians twelve thousand acres of land adjoining, indeed partly including, their former settlements on the Tuscarawas. And thither they desired to migrate. But the outbreak of hostilities between the American government and the Ohio tribes again compelled the sorely distressed Moravians to seek an asylum under the British flag. This time they found refuge near the mouth of the Detroit River on the Canadian side, where they established themselves for one year, when in May (1792), they took up their abode on the river Thames, building up a snug little village of forty houses, a church and other buildings. At this town, known as Fairfield, peace and happiness reigned for six years, when the time was propitious for the final removal to the land allotted to them on the Tuscarawas. Thither Heckewelder, accompanied by Rufus Putnam and the latter's son, proceeded (1798) to survey the land which was laid out in three plats, called respectively the Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrunn and Salem tracts. Of these the Fairfield emigrants and other converts took speedy possession. Zeisberger founded the little settlement of Goshen, some seven miles from Gnadenhutten, where in 1808 he "entered into eternal rest," his "hoary head crowned with glory." Amid the graves of his devoted red brethren, his mouldering body lies buried in the little "God's acre" by the roadside at the site of Goshen, the scene of his last efforts to Christianize the Ohio savages.

Upon the ground made sacred by the blood of the Moravian martyrs, Heckewelder replanted Gnadenhutten, which is now an unpretentious but peaceful and prosperous hamlet. There Heckewelder lived and

wrought among the Indian converts until 1810, when he resumed his home at Bethlehem. With the death of Zeisberger and the departure of Heckewelder, the Moravian Brethren date their rapid decline and final disappearance. As with the Jesuit missions, so with the Moravian conversions, there were small, if any, permanent results. The personality of the two heroic and pious leaders—whose careers we have followed—held sway over the converted savages, so long as their presence was permitted, but once that spell and influence was removed the progress of Christian civilization among the tribesmen ceased. There were no disciples sufficiently endowed to continue the work.

Connecticut's charter, granted by Charles II. in 1662, confirming and combining former charters and grants, conveyed to that colony all of the lands west of it, to the extent of its breadth, from sea to sea, or "to the South Sea." This strip extended from 41° to 42° 2′ north latitude and, cutting through Pennsylvania, would have included the northern part of Ohio. But as we have seen, when the discoverers and explorers located the Mississippi, the South Sea became a myth and the western extent of the English colonial grants stopped at the "Father of Waters." In the cession of Connecticut, by its act of May 11, 1786, to the United States, of its claimed domain in the Northwest Territory, it reserved to itself the strip which was bounded north by latitude 42° 2′, east by the Pennsylvania boundary line, south by parallel 41° and west by a meridian line one hundred and twenty miles west of the boundary line of Pennsylvania. This reservation was known as the "Connecticut Western Reserve."

The disposition to be made of these reserved lands soon became an interesting question to the people of Connecticut for the lands were far from the State that retained them, far for purposes of colonization and far for government by the home authority.

In October (1786), only a month after the cession, the General Assembly of Connecticut, determined to offer for sale the portion of the Reserve lying east of the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas rivers. These lands were ordered to be surveyed into townships six miles square; in each township five hundred acres were dedicated for the support of schools, and the same quantity to the "support of the Gospel," and two hundred and forty acres in fee simple in every township were promised to the first minister who should settle in it. But the survey as intended above was never made, nor was any sale made except the notable one, in 1788, to General Samuel H. Parsons, of a section lying in the Mahoning Valley, consisting of 25,000 acres and known as the "Salt-Springs Tract." In 1789, Judge Parsons was appointed by the State of Connecticut a commissioner with Governor Oliver Wolcott, and Hon. James Davenport, to hold a treaty with the Wyandots and other tribes of Indians, for the purpose of extinguishing their claim, "the aboriginal title to the lands called the Connecticut Western Reserve," and in the fall of that year (1789) Parsons visited the country with the purpose of arranging for the treaty. While returning to his residence, then in Marietta, he was drowned in descending the rapids of the Big Beaver.

On May 11, 1792, the General Assembly quit-claimed to the inhabitants of several Connecticut towns whose

property had been burned by the British in their incursions into the State during the Revolution, five hundred thousand acres lying across the Western end of the Reserve, bounded north by the lake shore, said lands to be divided among the grantees, the original sufferers of loss or their heirs or assigns, in proportion to their respective losses as found and reported by a committee previously appointed by the assembly. These lands are known in Connecticut history as "The Sufferers' Lands," in Ohio history as "The Firelands." The total number of "sufferers," as reported, was 1,870 and the aggregate losses £161,548, 11s, 6½d, something over eight hundred thousand dollars. In 1796, the sufferers were incorporated in Connecticut, and in 1803 in Ohio, under the title "The Proprietors of the Half-Million Acres of Land lying south of Lake Erie." The lands were surveyed, divided into tracts and distributed to the sufferers according to each one's proportion. The Firelands—now including the counties of Huron and Erie—were peopled a little later than the eastern part of the Western Reserve, but as Alfred Mathews states, in his "Ohio and the Western Reserve," the settlers, when they did come, emphasized their native homes by giving their new settlements such Connecticut names as New Haven, East Haven, New London, Norwalk, Greenwich, Fairfield, Danbury, Ridgefield and Groton.

As the survey progressed it was estimated that the Western Reserve comprised the Reserve proper, 2,835,547 acres, Firelands, 500,000 acres, Salt-Spring Tract, 25,450 acres, Kelley's and the several Bass Islands, lying in the lake off the western end of the reser-

vation, 5,924 acres, making a total of 3,366,921 acres—an excess over the area of the state of Connecticut itself of 173,921 acres. In May, 1795, the General Assembly offered the Reserve lands—excepting the Firelands—for sale, at fixed terms and conditions, appointed acommittee to negotiate the sale and set apart the proceeds as a perpetual Connecticut State Fund, the interest of which should be appropriated to the support of the State public schools.

In September following the above legislation, as is related by Professor B. A. Hinsdale in "The Old Northwest," the committee, appointed by the State for that purpose, sold the lands in bulk, without survey or measurement, to thirty-five purchasers, who severally agreed to pay stipulated sums, which together, would amount to one million two hundred thousand dollars, the price of tract agreed upon. The committee made as many deeds as there were purchasers, the term "purchaser" being used in a legal sense, many of the purchasers named representing associate or sub-buyers. The deed granted to the purchaser, in behalf of the State of Connecticut, and to his heirs forever, all right, title and interest, "juridical, and territorial," in and to a certain number of twelve hundred-thousandths of the lands described, to be held by the said purchaser as tenant in common of said whole tract or territory with the other purchasers and not in severalty. In accordance therewith, the number of undivided shares that each purchaser received was the same as the number of dollars that he had agreed to pay toward the total purchase-money. The sale was on credit; the purchasers at the time gave their bonds for

the amount of the several contracts, with personal security, but afterward they gave mortgages on the lands. The list of original purchasers and the amounts agreed to be paid by each is given by Colonel Charles Whittlesey, in his "Early History of Cleveland" (1867), and the names show that while most of the buyers were from Connecticut, some were from Massachusetts and a few from New York. Oliver Phelps, "perhaps the largest land-speculator of the time," was at their head. September 5, 1795, the purchasers organized, constituting themselves the "Connecticut Land Company," which was never incorporated but was maintained rather as a "syndicate," in which all the members of the partnership joined in a deed of trust, covering the entire purchase, to John Caldwell, Jonathan Brace, and John Morgan. As special corporate powers were not given the purchasers by the General Assembly of Connecticut and doubts existed as to the validity of their political franchises, the trusteeship adopted by the "syndicate" was necessary for the convenient management of the business. The State guaranteed nothing either as to title or quantity of land. She only transferred all the rights she possessed, as well as those of property under her original charter; in fact she only gave a quit-claim deed. The members divided the stock into four hundred shares of $3,000 each. The land was to be surveyed into townships of five miles square and seven directors were chosen as follows: Oliver Phelps, Henry Champion, Moses Cleaveland, Samuel Mather and Roger Newberry. The annual meetings of the company were to be held in Hartford, from whence "New Connecticut" was to

MOSES CLEAVELAND

Leader of the western emigration of the Connecticut Land Company. His party landed at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, July 22, 1796, and founded the City of Cleveland. It was the first settlement in the Western Reserve. Moses Cleaveland was born at Canterbury, Conn., January 29, 1754. He died at the same place November 16, 1806.

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be governed as New England had been by the Plymouth council in England. Moses Cleaveland, one of the directors, was made general agent of the company and Augustus Porter was chosen principal surveyor. In the spring of 1796, the directors of the company sent out the first party of surveyors, numbering in all fifty persons, seven surveyors, a commissary, a physician, a boatman, employees and other persons who came as settlers. There appear to have been but two women in the party, wives of two surveyors. They took with them horses and cattle. Some members of this party kept diaries of their journeyings, portions of which journals are set forth by Colonel Whittlesey. The party assembled at Schenectady and ascended the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix, whence most of them passed, with the boats and stores over the portage to Wood Creek, and then down that stream across Oneida Lake, and down Oswego River to Lake Ontario. Others of the party made their way by Canandaigua to Buffalo Creek, where, states the journal of John Holley, one of the assistant surveyors: "The council fire with the Six Nations was uncovered and Captain Brant gave General Cleaveland a speech in writing." Next morning, the 23d of June, there were speeches by Joseph Brant and Red Jacket, and finally after much discussion, General Cleaveland agreed to give the Indians $25,000, in money and goods, two beef cattle and one hundred gallons of whiskey, for the Iroquois claim to the lands east of the Cuyahoga River.

During this Buffalo Creek treaty, Red Jacket expressed his views upon the white man's religion, which Holley summarizes as follows: "You white

people make a great parade about religion, you say you have a book of laws and rules which was given you by the Great Spirit, but is this true? No," says he, "it was written by your own people. They do it to deceive you. Their whole wishes center here (pointing to his pocket), all they want is the money." He says, "White people tell them, they wish to come and live among them as brothers, and learn them agriculture. So they bring on implements of husbandry and presents, tell them good stories, and all appears honest. But when they are gone all appears as a dream. Our land is taken from us, and still we don't know how to farm it."

From Buffalo Creek, the party continued westward along the lake shore, reaching the mouth of Conneaut Creek, on the east side of which the surveyors pitched their tents, and, says the Journal of Moses Cleaveland, "We gave three cheers and christened the place Fort Independence." It was July 4th (1796), and the party including men, women and children, "ranged themselves on the beach and fired a federal salute of fifteen rounds and then the sixteenth in honor of New Connecticut." Several toasts were drunk, one of which was, "May the Port of Independence and the fifty sons and daughters who have entered it this day be successful and prosperous," and another, "May these sons and daughters multiply in sixteen years, sixteen times fifty." Cleaveland's diary for that day closes with, (We) "drank several pails of grog, supped, and retired in remarkable good order."

The settlement of the Western Reserve properly dates from this celebration. The next day after

the jollification, narrates Harvey Rice, in "Pioneers of the Western Reserve," the party united in cutting timber, and in erecting a huge, elephantine log structure for their own temporary accommodation and named it "Stow's Castle," in honor of Joshua Stow, commissary of the party. "It was built of unhewn logs, and covered with a thatched roof of brush, wild grass and sod," a grotesque looking edifice that greatly amused the visiting savages.

A few days after the completion of the "Castle" the Cleaveland party was called upon by a deputation of Indians headed by their aged Chief Paqua, and his son Cato, who came to inquire the purpose of the invasion of the whites, and to ask what they intended to do with the Indians. Cleaveland replied in a most conciliatory manner assuring the tribesmen that they should not be disturbed in their rights but that all would live amicably together. The Indians were further pacified with gifts of glass beads for the Squaws and a keg of whiskey for the "braves." The Indians then consented that the intended land surveys might proceed.

Some two weeks after the landing at Conneaut, Cleaveland with a portion of the party, embarked in an open boat, and coasted westward along the lake shore, bound for the Cuyahoga River. They came to the mouth of a stream not traced on their chart and supposing it to be the Cuyahoga, they entered it. Upon discovering their mistake, they felt so chagrined about it, says Rice, that they named the river "Chagrin"—a designation it still retains; though James H. Kennedy in his "History of the City of Cleveland"

states the authorities do not agree upon the origin of this river's name. The party now continued their voyage along the coast until they reached the "veritable Cuyahoga," which they entered July 22d. Colonel Whittlesey, with realistic imagery portrays the landing: "It was necessary to proceed some distance along this shore, before there was solid ground enough to effect a landing. As the Indians had, from generation to generation, kept open a trail along the margin of the lake, it is probable that Cleaveland's party, scanning with sharp eyes every object as they rowed along the river, saw where the aboriginal highway descended the hill, along what is now Union Lane. Here they came to the bank, and scrambling out, trod for the first time the soil of the new city. While the boat was being unloaded, the agent had an opportunity to mount the bluff, and scan the surrounding land. His imagination doubtless took a pardonable flight into the future, when a great commercial town should take the place of the stunted forest growth, which the northern tempest had nearly destroyed. But whatever may have been his anticipations, the reality has outstripped them all." Very soon the party proceeded to erect a log storehouse and several log cabins, for their own accommodation, and that of the few immigrants who had followed them with the purpose of settling or finding employment in the opening of a new country.

This settlement thus established on the lake, destined to become the metropolis of northern Ohio, was fittingly named after its founder, Cleveland. Just how the "a" was dropped from the name is a matter somewhat

CITY OF CLEVELAND IN 1800

Site and first log buildings erected in 1796 by the party of Moses Cleaveland. Reproduction of an old print.

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in dispute. The original spelling "Cleaveland" seems to have been retained for some thirty years or more, when, one explanation is, the publisher of the "Cleveland Advertiser," omitted the "a" from the name at the head of his paper because he could not fit, with the type used, the name in full, as a headline, to the width of his form. Another version is that, in early days, the first "a" in the "Cleaveland Herald" got battered and put out of commission and was never replaced. The new spelling was adopted by other papers and in due time became the common acceptation. As the change occurred before the days of phonetic spelling it doubtless resulted from some accident or exigency as related above.

Moses Cleaveland, the hero and leader of this settlement on the lake shore, was a prominent and much respected citizen of Canterbury, Connecticut, where he was born in 1754. He was a graduate of Yale, Class of 1777. He studied for the bar and after admission entered upon the practice of law in his native town. In August, 1789, he was appointed by Congress, a Captain of Sappers and Miners in the Continental Army. His ability and public usefulness are attested by the fact that he served several terms as a member of the Connecticut General Assembly. He also served in various capacities in the state militia, and in 1796, not long before he engaged in the Connecticut Land Enterprise, he became a general of the Fifth Brigade. In 1794 he was married to Esther, daughter of Henry Champion. According to the description of Harvey Rice, Cleaveland was a man of few words and prompt action; his morality was an outgrowth

of Puritanism and as rigid as it was pure; he was manly and dignified in his bearing and so sedate in his looks, that strangers often took him for a clergyman; in personal appearance he was of medium height, erect, thick-set, and portly, had black hair, a quick, penetrating eye, muscular limbs, and a military air in his step, indicating that he was born to command.

It was several years before the survey of the new Western Reserve Empire was completed. The base lines of the survey were the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as determined ten years before (1786), and the parallel 41° latitude north as now (1796) run for the first time and extending west from Pennsylvania 120 miles. Fom this base line, lines were run north and south, five miles apart, and later cross lines, parallel to the base line, were run, five miles apart, thus making twenty-four townships across, east and west, and twelve, north and south, in the deepest place, that is on the extreme east. Each township was therefore twenty-five miles square. The townships, east and west, were numbered as "ranges," and from the base line north as "towns." Cleveland, for instance, was in Range 12, from the Pennsylvania line, and town 7 from the base line. The southern line of the Reserve, 41° north latitude, is often confused, by writers, including many historians, with the Geographer's Line which was 40° 38′ 02° latitude north, the gap between the two lines being approximately twenty-five miles, and according to recent researches in government archives by Mr. Albion M. Dyer, Curator of the Western Reserve Historical Society, the famous Seven Ranges running south from

the Geographer's Line were not extended north until 1800 and 1801, when, under the direction of Rufus Putnam, then surveyor general, they were continued to the southern line of the Western Reserve, thus adding four townships to each range. The Geographer's Line was extended west to the Ninth range, where it met the Indian boundary line of the Greenville Treaty, the line extending from Fort Laurens through Loramie's Station to Fort Recovery.

The lands of the Connecticut Land Company were drawn by the purchasers in four separate drafts, in 1798, 1802, 1807, and 1809. The deeds were made to the allotment share-holders, by the trustees of the Company, and with the last draft and deed allotment the Company was dissolved after being in existence fourteen years.

As a land speculation, however, the Connecticut Land purchase was not what was expected of it. Like the Ohio Company, the Scioto Company, the Symmes Purchase, and the French Colony, the Western Reservers had their difficulties and disappointments. The ideas in 1795 concerning the southern shore of Lake Erie, dating from the old French days, had not been corrected; and the Connecticut Company supposed before the surveys were completed, that they were buying 4,000,000 acres of land. The survey proved that they bought less than 3,000,000 acres. Instead of thirty cents an acre they had paid more than forty cents. Nearly a fourth of their supposed purchase lay beneath the waters of Lake Erie. But greater troubles arose over the question of the political

jurisdiction of this newly acquired domain. It was so serious as to even threaten to deprive them of their property altogether.

We cannot follow the details of the political dilemma into which the Western Reserve had fallen. These details may be found in the published accounts by Whittlesey and Hinsdale, the most reliable authorities upon this subject. Connecticut had sold to the Land Company the juridical and territorial right, as well as the soil, of the tract. But where was to rest the government of the new territory? "So little was known," says Whittlesey, "at this time, of the respective powers of the State and the United States, under the Constitution of 1787, that many of the parties thought the Land Company had received political authority and could found a new State. They imagined themselves, like William Penn, to be proprietors, coupled with the rights of self government." Indeed one of the toasts at the Conneaut Landing celebration was "the State of New Connecticut," which they had in mind, and believed they might organize. The "Reservers" had unquestionably passed out from under the government of Connecticut. On the other hand they had not become subservient to the jurisdiction of the United States, as their territory had never been ceded to the national government. The Western Reserve, therefore, was politically *sui generis*, it was a political orphan, anxiously seeking to be adopted by some governmental parentage. Governor St. Clair had included all that part of the Reserve lying east of the Cuyahoga River in his outlines of Washington County, which he organized July 26, 1788. In 1796 he included the

whole Reserve in Wayne County which had its county seat at Detroit. But the new settlers of the Reserve rightly denied any such territorial jurisdiction. On January 27, 1797, the stockholders of the company, in a meeting at Hartford, instructed the directors and trustees to apply to the General Assembly for an act creating the Western Reserve into an entire and distinct county, with proper and suitable laws. But if such application was made, the Connecticut legislature took no action in the matter. It appeared unwilling to assume the political custody of a child so far from home. In the following October (1797), the stockholders gave the directors and trustees full authority to pursue such measures as they deemed best calculated to procure legal and practical government over the territory belonging to the company. Almost at the same time, the Connecticut assembly authorized its senators in Congress to execute in the name of Connecticut, a deed releasing to the United States the jurisdiction of the Western Reserve. But Congress refused to take action accepting the proffered cession. Meantime the Western Reserve, an outlaw indeed, was "calling for help more and more loudly," first upon the State of Connecticut and then upon the national Congress. But all in vain. The political anomaly of the Western Reserve was deterring immigration and preventing land sales by those who wished to escape the perplexing troubles and return to their Connecticut homes. There was no government, no legal authority, title could not be established or recorded, contracts had no assured validity, protection of person and security of property had no legal

basis; it was "No Man's Land," without civil officers, laws or courts. Finally on February 18, 1800, Congress by resolution, appointed a committee of which the eminent jurist, John Marshall, was Chairman, to consider the expediency of accepting the cession of the jurisdiction of the Reserve. Mr. Marshall's favorable report recited the history of Connecticut title, the history of the cessions, the sale to the Land Company, and fully explained the difficulties and actual perils of the settlers of the Reserve. As a result of Mr. Marshall's report, Congress authorized the President, in behalf of the United States, to execute and deliver to the Governor of Connecticut, letters patent whereby the right, title, interest and estate of the United States to the territory, commonly called the Western Reserve, should be released and conveyed to said Governor. The bill provided, among other conditions, that Connecticut should, within eight months from the passage of this act, execute and deliver to the President of the United States a deed expressly releasing to the United States the jurisdictional claim of the said State of Connecticut to the Reserve. This "Easement Act," as it was called, passed Congress and on April 28, 1800, was approved by President Adams. The General Assembly of Connecticut promptly complied with the conditions of the congressional act and directed the Governor of the State to execute and deliver to the President of the United States, official deed of the jurisdiction of the Reserve. Thus the curious and unique problem, which as Hinsdale remarks, "gave such abundant opportunity for constitutional metaphysics and legal hair splitting," was

happily solved, mainly through the legal acumen and logical common sense of the Virginia Congressman, John Marshall, who a few months later was to become the Chief Justice of the United States.

On July 10, 1800, St. Clair made proclamation constituting the whole Reserve, including the Firelands, a county with the name of Trumbull, in honor of Jonathan Trumbull, then Governor of Connecticut, and son of the original "Brother Jonathan." The county government was promptly organized and its seat located at Warren. At this time (1800) the population of the Reserve was 1300, but now that civil law was assured and the land title clouds had rolled by, a new and powerful impetus was given to immigration and Trumbull County was rapidly dotted with thriving settlements of incomers from New England. Indeed, says Hinsdale, "No other five thousand square miles [the size of the Reserve] of territory in the United States, lying in a body outside of New England ever had, to begin with, so pure a New Engand population," and he adds: "No similar territory west of the Allegheny Mountains has so impressed the brain and conscience of the country." Of the host of great national leaders in thought and action that the Western Reserve was to produce, it is not our province to speak. That is all a well-known portion of our country's history. The unusual character of the early colonial settlers of the Western Reserve and the forceful influence they and their descendants have exerted in the field of our nation's affairs, has given an enviable prominence to the Western Reserve which has not inaptly been styled "the Attica of Ohio."

While the Western Reserve was passing through its sea of troubles, other sections of the State were being settled by diverse streams of immigration. We have already mentioned how shortly after Wayne's Treaty, Arthur St. Clair, James Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton and Isaac Ludlow made settlements in the territory of the intended Symmes' Purchase.

Another group of Ohio settlements of a distinctive character was that of the Virginians. The leader in this stream of immigration was Nathaniel Massie, born in 1763, in Goochland County, (Va.). He came of distinguished ancestry and according to his biographer, John McDonald, served in the Revolutionary War from his native State at the age of seventeen, and at nineteen started to Kentucky to pursue his vocation of surveying the public lands and placing warrants for the soldiers of the Revolution. David Meade Massie in his life of his illustrious grandfather, Nathaniel Massie, says the latter "did not go as a penniless soldier of fortune," but at the outset was the recipient of lands already located in Kentucky, by Daniel Boone, for Nathaniel Massie, Senior, father of our subject. Massie developed much talent for successful enterprises, not only in land locating but fur and salt trading, being associated in the latter business with General James Wilkinson. Colonel Richard C. Anderson, who was the principal surveyor of the (Ohio) Virginia military lands, opened his office at Louisville in 1784, and in 1790 appointed Nathaniel Massie one of his deputy surveyors. The latter had already penetrated the Virginia military district of Ohio and was familiar with the extent and value of

NATHANIEL MASSIE

Born, Goochland County, Va., in 1763. Served in American Revolution and then located in Kentucky on lands bought from Daniel Boone. One of the Deputy Surveyors of the Miami and Scioto country. Founder of the settlements at Manchester and Chillicothe. Died and buried at Chillicothe, 1813. Engraving from an oil portrait in the City Library, Chillicothe, Ohio.

territory of the intended Symmes' Purchase.

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Nathl Massie

that locality. In 1791, Massie established a post "on the bottom along the Ohio River opposite the lower one of the three islands, some twelve miles above the present town of Maysville [Kentucky], then called Limestone." It was the first settlement in the Ohio Virginia Military District and was at first known as "Massie's Station," later as Manchester. It was the fourth settlement in Ohio, following Marietta, Cincinnati and Gallipolis. To induce settlers in his proposed Station, Massie offered each of the first twenty-five families, as a donation, one in-lot, one out-lot and one hundred acres of land. Upwards of thirty families quickly responded to this alluring offer. Massie made many surveying incursions into the region of the Scioto Valley, becoming the owner of much land along the Scioto River and Paint Creek, in which picturesque and fertile location he determined to found a town. He advertised his proposition in Kentucky, offering an in-lot and an out-lot of four acres in the prospective town to the first one hundred permanent settlers. This brought together, early in 1795, at Manchester, a "party of respectable citizens of Kentucky," who under the guidance of Massie, the city founder, entered upon their journey to the Paint Creek region. They reached Brush Creek, Scioto branch, where they unexpectedly encountered a body of seventy hostile Shawnees, under the chief Pucksekaw, the same vagrant band that soon after reported to Wayne at Greenville, in great contrition, desiring to come under the terms of the Treaty. A battle between the pioneers and the savages, ensued in which the pioneers without loss of life were worsted and were compelled to yield

the field, making good their return to Massie's Station. This ended the exploitation of the Scioto Valley for that year. "It was," says McDonald, "the last Indian fight on the waters of the Scioto River," occurring at the very moment Wayne was treating with the tribesmen at Greenville.

Nothing daunted by this failure, Massie revived the enterprise early in 1796. The proposed settlers again assembled at Manchester and on April 1, reached the selected site and began to build cabins and plow the open prairie, "so as to plant corn, three hundred acres being soon turned by thirty plows." It was the founding of historic Chillicothe, so named by Massie, the proprietor, "on consultation with his friends," for it was an Indian word meaning a town. Its population increased rapidly and before the winter of 1796 had "several stores, taverns, and shops for mechanics." It became the attractive center for a rush of Virginians and Kentuckians, the latter in nearly all cases being natives of the Old Dominion.

Thus closed the year 1796, a most memorable year, marking the settlements of Cleveland, Dayton, Chillicothe and other minor towns; the year of the evacuation of the British posts, including the forts on the Maumee and at the mouth of the Sandusky; this same year, the President was authorized by Congress to contract with Ebenezer Zane to build his "Trace" through Ohio, at first only a bridle path, later a stately wagon road.

In this Centennial year (1912) of the Ohio State Capital, the origin of one little settlement must not go unmentioned. Colonel Richard C. Anderson, official surveyor of the Virginia Military District, appointed as

LUCAS SULLIVANT

Born in Virginia, 1765. Early settled in Kentucky where he became a surveyor. He was appointed one of the Deputies to Richard Anderson, official surveyor of the Virginia Military District. Sullivant's first expedition to the Scioto country was in 1792. He visited the site of Columbus in 1795, and two years later laid out the town of Franklinton, now a part of Columbus.

with the tribesmen at Greenville.

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In this Centennial year (1912) of the Ohio St

surveyor of the Virginia Military District, appointed

one of his deputies, Lucas Sullivant. He was a typical gentleman of those early days in Virginia of which he was a native. He became an expert surveyor, brave backwoodsman, and versed in Indian warfare. While the savages were assembling at Greenville to treat with Wayne, in the spring of 1795, Sullivant, then thirty years of age, with a party of twenty, comprising chain-carriers, markers, scouts, and helpers, proceeded into the valley of the Scioto. The adventures, encounters and escapes of the members of this party, as recorded in their journals, read like the tales of a yellow back novelette. At one time their provisions ran so low that the cook surreptitiously served them with soup made from "the bodies of two young skunks which he had captured without damage to himself in a hollow log." The surveying operations of Mr. Sullivant led him to the banks of the Scioto and the Whetstone (now Olentangy). The juncture of these two rivers was then known as "The Forks of the Scioto." It was on the main water route, as we have seen, from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. Mr. Sullivant, with the "prophetic eye," saw the advantage of the location, the fertility of the soil and the luxuriance of the forest. It had long been a favorite field for the villages of the Mingoes, Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and other tribes. The river afforded them transportation and the rich bottom lands easily produced their maize. And here on the bend of the Scioto on the west bank just north of the forks, "in a grove of stately walnut trees," in August, 1797, Lucas Sullivant located the town he called Franklinton, in honor of Benjamin Franklin. There he settled and slowly the pioneers

crept in and built their humble log huts, Chillicothe being their mart and source of supplies. It was on the east "High Bank" of the Scioto, opposite the town of Franklinton that the legislature, on Valentine Day, 1812, chose the site for the state capital and called it Columbus after the discoverer of this country.

In 1798 the Northwest Territory had acquired the five thousand free male inhabitants that the Ordinance had made the condition of the second stage of government, and accordingly the Territorial Legislature was instituted. The General Assembly first met at Cincinnati, September 24, 1799. The lower house consisted of twenty-two members, representing nine counties. Seven of these members came from four counties containing the old French settlements in Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, fifteen from the five Ohio counties; the Western Reserve had no delegates. The five members of the legislative council, or senate, nominated by the representatives and appointed by the President, were Jacob Burnet and James Findley of Hamilton, Robert Oliver of Washington, David Vance of Jefferson, and Henry Vanderberg of Knox. The transfer of the seat of government from Cincinnati to Chillicothe was made without any formal legislation on the subject. But the political beginning of the territory and State of Ohio it is not our task to recount. Suffice it to say, William Henry Harrison, who had succeeded Winthrop Sargent in the territorial secretaryship, was chosen delegate from Ohio territory to Congress, which body, on May 7, 1800, passed an act, constituting all that part of the Northwest Territory, lying west of the treaty line of 1795, from the Ohio

to Fort Recovery, and a line drawn from the fort to the international boundary, a separate territory, to be called Indiana Territory, of which William Henry Harrison was to be the Territorial Governor, with Vincennes as its capital. The easterly section was to be the Ohio Territory, still known as the Northwest Territory, Eastern Division, with its capital at Chillicothe, until otherwise ordained by the legislature. This new (Ohio) Northwest Territory, duly organized as above stated became a State and a member of the Union on March 1, 1803, the date of the birth of Ohio, officially established as such by the act of Congress (Laws of the United States, Volume 4, page 4) which determined that the salaries of the retiring territorial officers ended on the day before "the first Tuesday in March," which day before was February 28th, that day being the last of their territorial functions, the State machinery going into operation the next day, when the legislature first met and two days thereafter Edward Tiffin was inaugurated Governor.

Judge James G. Johnson of the Ohio Supreme Court, in a public address, made note that the State of Ohio was not only the first state carved from the Northwest Territory but was really the first addition to the United States, for although Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796) were admitted before Ohio, the first was cut off from New York and the two latter from Virginia. Ohio came in by virtue of her rights under the Articles of 1787 and "there is a great fact that Ohio was the first political state ever formed in the world which never had been governed by a king and the Ordinance of 1787 dedicated it forever to freedom."

And from the date of its admission we leave the continuation of Ohio History to the pen of another, a history which shall reveal the greatness of a state due in no small measure to the mingling of racial roots and elemental characteristics which is scarcely equalled in the annals of any other of the American commonwealths. We have shown how the sections of the State were settled by streams from the original colonies, by strains of blood from different stocks, a theme worthy an ample chapter. As numerous writers have pointed out, and our own pages have narrated, there were five principal nerve centers of the nascent state: 1. The Ohio Company, on the Ohio River, mainly from Connecticut and Massachusetts, representing perhaps the more liberal element of the New England Puritanic stock; 2. The Symmes Purchase, between the Miamis, whose immigrants were designated as a band of New Jersians, with a mixture of Scotch-Irish and Hollanders; 3. The Virginia Military District, between the Scioto and the Little Miami Rivers, in which the racial inflow was partly Marylandic, but mostly Virginian, the hardy, rollicking, fighting Anglo-Saxon stock, whose venturesome representatives brought with them the flavor of the old world aristocracy with its dignity, luxury and courtesy; 4. The Western Reserve, with its distinctively austere indomitable Puritan type, a colony, "whose foundations were hewn from the granitic rock of New England Calvanism"; 5. The "Seven Ranges," consisting of the tract extending west from the Pennsylvania line between the Ohio Company on the south and the Western Reserve on the north. The settlers in this section were not a few native born

Quakers; a few settlers from the German Palatinate; many Germans, of the stock which has produced the variety known as "Pennsylvania Dutch," and many Scotch-Irish, the people that prevailed in Western Pennsylvania; Swede and French colonists located west of the Seven Ranges. The five chief centers of settlement were long separated by intervening forests, but slowly the paths of travel and channels of commerce brought them into closer and closer contact; gradually the ties of a common purpose and a similar effort began to unite them. Natively they differed widely in customs, training, religious faith and forms of worship, and in modes of living and thinking. But they were to be merged into a collective and concordant genus. In the melting process of struggle and sacrifice and coöperative endeavor, the racial traits were to be commingled until "all were ultimately subdued to a predominate type."

"And here," said General Benjamin R. Cowen, "upon the Ohio territory was a fit place for the experiment of constructing society upon a new basis; here theories hitherto unknown or deemed impracticable were to exhibit a spectacle for which the previous history of the world had furnished no example; Ohio being the most westerly of the eastern states and the most easterly of the western states, the abundance and variety of her natural resources were such as to fix the choice of the most desirable emigrants on this soil, so that we had a selection of the best from the oncoming tide that swept athwart the continent. A common danger and a common purpose brought about the fusion and they were no longer Virginians,

Pennsylvanians or New Englanders, but Ohioans. Thus, Cavalier and Roundhead, Huguenot, Catholic and Prostestant, Puritan, Baptist and Quaker, Scotch-Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Teuton and Celt coalesced, strongly welded by the common interests."

And truly is it too much to assert that not until the amalgamation, on the Ohio soil, of the variant, migrant nationalities, with the political, mental, moral, social and religious characteristics, peculiar to each, was there produced the strictly ethnological type known as the American?

> "What heroism, what perils, then;
> How true of heart and strong of hand,
> How earnest, resolute, those pioneer men?"

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